





THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVI

JULY, 1932

NO. 4

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The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year. A complete set of the Review is still obtainable—Vols. 1-25, bound, \$34.00; unbound, \$42.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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THE BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL IN MISSOURI

BY MONAS N. SQUIRES

By the time the first westbound overland mail on the Butterfield route left St. Louis the morning of Sept. 16, 1858, and began the long journey of nearly twenty-four days to California, the question of communication between the east and west coasts of America had assumed the proportions of a national controversy. Missouri, situated on a principal highway to the West, was vitally concerned with the efforts which were made to bring California into closer touch by land routes.

It is the purpose of this article to sketch briefly the development of the overland mail issue, and then to show the beginning operations in Missouri of the Butterfield Overland Mail, which was the first noteworthy result of an intense effort to establish reliable through communication with California by land. In presenting the accounts of the departure and arrival of the first overland mails in St. Louis, the route of the mail stages through Missouri, and the reaction of the Missouri press to the overland mail issue, we present materials scarcely touched upon by other writers on the overland mail.

The fight for mail service to the west coast, which began more than a decade before the passage of the act of Congress on March 3, 1857, was largely a struggle between the North and the South for possession of the proposed route.¹ The gold-rush of 1849 created extensive agitation for better mail facilities between the East and the West, and by 1850 steamers were carrying mail twice a month on a 30-day schedule; but the Californians in particular were not satisfied with this arrangement.²

¹Hafen, Le Roy R., *The Overland Mail*, p. 79; Nettels,³ Curtis, "The Overland Mail Issue During the Fifties," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 18, p. 524.

²Nettels, *op. cit.*, 521.

From 1849 to 1856, Congress fought over the route of the proposed overland mail, and reached no decision.³ In 1855, Benton of Missouri proposed a direct mail route between St. Louis and San Francisco, but this proposal was defeated.⁴ The next year, a petition, signed by 75,000 Californians favoring an overland mail, was presented to Congress and the demands of California for a mail route became more insistent.⁵

While Congress wrestled with the problem of overland mails, agitation in Missouri and other western states for mail service with the West by land paralleled that of the Pacific Coast. The people of Missouri were almost as concerned over the issue as were the Californians.⁶ In Congress, the fight for a Pacific Railroad, of which the overland mail was considered a forerunner, had become so hopelessly entangled in a maze of sectional controversy that the selection of a route for the mail was practically impossible.⁷

Finally on March 3, 1857, a bill passed Congress which provided for an overland mail. The bill was a compromise measure, designed to satisfy all sections.⁸ One of the main provisions of the law was that the contractor was to be allowed to select the route over which the mail should be carried. Other features of the bill provided that the postmaster-general should contract for a semi-monthly, weekly, or a semi-weekly service at an annual cost ranging from \$300,000 to \$600,000; the service was to be performed by four-horse coaches suitable for passengers and mail; the trip one way should be made in twenty-five days, and the contractors were given the right to preempt 320 acres of land along the route, no closer than ten miles from each selection.⁹ The bill was supported mainly by Northern and Western men who believed that, by letting the contractor establish the

³*Ibid.*, 524.

⁴*Ibid.*, 523.

⁵Nettels, *op. cit.*, 522; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 80-1.

⁶Nettels, *op. cit.*, 523; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 81.

⁷Nettels, *op. cit.*, 524; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 80.

⁸Hafen, *op. cit.*, 87.

⁹*Ibid.*, 87-8.

route, they were taking the first step in locating a Pacific railroad.¹⁰

Bids were called for and nine were received, covering various routes to the Pacific coast. Postmaster-General Aaron V. Brown, by the terms of the Congressional bill, was authorized to award the contract. Although the law provided that the contractor should select the route for the mail, the power of selecting the route actually was vested in the postmaster-general, because he could accept the bid of the firm designating the route which he favored. Brown, who was a Tennessean, conferred with several Southern leaders, selected an all-Southern route for the mail, and on July 2, 1857, awarded a contract to a company headed by John Butterfield. The contract called for a semi-weekly mail service costing \$600,000 a year, to be operated over a route starting at St. Louis and Memphis, meeting at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and proceeding westward by way of El Paso, Texas, and Los Angeles, to San Francisco. Roughly, the route designated by Brown was a great semi-circular swing, nearly 2,800 miles long.¹¹

Brown's action in designating the route to be taken by the mail, in addition to being contrary to the law passed by Congress, brought down a storm of protest from the Northern press, the mail contractors, and the residents of Northern California.¹² As justification for his selection, however, Brown pointed out that other routes were blocked by snow a part of the year, and maintained that the route he had selected was superior to all others in climate, water supply, and roads.¹³ On Sept. 16, 1857, Butterfield's company signed a six-year contract, to go into effect Sept. 15, 1858.¹⁴

The first westbound overland mail on the Butterfield route left St. Louis the morning of Sept. 16, 1858, on the Pacific Railroad, probably taking the train scheduled to leave

¹⁰Nettels, *op. cit.*, 524.

¹¹Hafen, *op. cit.*, 89-92; Nettels, *op. cit.*, 525.

¹²Nettels, *op. cit.*, 525; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 92.

¹³Nettels, *op. cit.*, 526.

¹⁴Hafen, *op. cit.*, 90.

there at 8:00 a. m.¹⁶ One account says that the first westward mail left the train at Jefferson City, and the mail proceeded from there by coach.¹⁶ It is probable, though, that the mail did not leave the railroad until it reached Tipton, "the present terminus of the Pacific Railroad";¹⁷ then too, the *Jefferson Inquirer* at Jefferson City had announced on Aug. 7, 1858, that the railroad was "now complete to Tipton, and in successful operation." The train was scheduled to arrive at Tipton at 6:15 p. m.¹⁸

The overland mail was at Springfield by 3 p. m. on September 17, and proceeded from there to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and thence to Fort Smith, arriving at the latter place by 2:55 a. m. on September 19.¹⁹ At Fort Smith, the Memphis stage joined the one from St. Louis fifteen minutes after the St. Louis mail came in.

From Fort Smith the mail continued on, reaching San Francisco at seven o'clock on the morning of October 10, twenty-three days and twenty-three hours from St. Louis.²⁰ Waterman L. Ormsby, a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, was the only passenger to make the entire journey westward on the first trip, a distance of nearly 2,800 miles.²¹

During the following weeks, before the arrival of the first eastbound mail in Missouri, the overland mail was dispatched regularly from St. Louis on the twice-a-week schedule. The mail left St. Louis every Monday and Thursday mornings.²² Letters intended for the Butterfield route were to be marked "By the Overland Mail" and could be sent for three cents; by steamer the rate was ten cents.²³ Passengers on the line going west from St. Louis or Memphis were charged \$200 for fare to San Francisco, but from San Francisco east-

¹⁶Columbia Missouri Statesman, Nov. 5, 1858; the St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat, Nov. 12, 1858, says the mail left St. Louis at 8:30. The Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Aug. 7, 1858, gives the same schedule as the *Statesman*.

¹⁷San Francisco Daily Alta California, Oct. 12, 1858.

¹⁸Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 2, 1858.

¹⁹Columbia Missouri Statesman, Nov. 5, 1858.

²⁰Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 2, 1858, quoting the St. Louis Missouri Republican.

²¹St. Louis Tri-Weekly Democrat, Nov. 12, 1858; Hafen, *op. cit.*, 95.

²²San Francisco Daily Alta California, Oct. 12, 1858.

²³Jefferson City *Jefferson Examiner*, Oct. 23, 1858, quoting the St. Louis Republican.

²⁴Ibid.

ward the rate was \$100. The fare included the privilege of carrying forty pounds of baggage per person.²⁴

The Butterfield line was at first equipped with the famous Concord spring wagons, designed to carry four passengers, baggage and five or six hundred pounds of mail. Larger coaches were used later. The coaches were generally drawn by four horses or mules, but more animals were used on difficult stretches. Stations were situated from eight to twenty-five miles apart.²⁵

Early on the morning of October 8, the first eastbound overland mail on the Butterfield line crossed the Arkansas-Missouri state line in the Ozark mountains into Missouri. That section of the mail route through the Ozarks was said to be the "roughest encountered" on the trip.²⁶ The stage had left San Francisco on September 15,²⁷ and the arrival of the mails ahead of schedule was the occasion of public demonstrations all along the route.²⁸

At 3:30 the afternoon of October 8, the overland mail coach rolled into Springfield, bringing six passengers through the entire distance from San Francisco.²⁹ A crowd "numbering hundreds" gathered in front of the hotel where the coach drew up. That night Springfield celebrated the great event with a display of fireworks, witnessed by a "large number

²⁴Hafen, *op. cit.*, 97-8.

²⁵Ibid., 96.

²⁶San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 12, 1858.

²⁷See the Jefferson City *Jefferson Examiner* of Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *San Francisco Alta California*. Also see Mr. Bailey's report in the *St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat* of Oct. 15, 1858, and the *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer* of Oct. 16, 1858, showing the time of the first eastward trip to be 24 days, 18 hours and 26 minutes, which would make the time of departure at San Francisco early on the morning of Sept. 15, since the mail arrived in St. Louis about 9 p. m. on October 9.

Mr. Butterfield is evidently wrong in saying that the mail came through in 23 days, 4 hours. Also incorrect are the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* of Oct. 15, 1858, quoting the *St. Louis Herald*, and the *St. Louis Democrat* of Oct. 15, 1858, which say that the mail left San Francisco on Sept. 16.

Hafen, *op. cit.*, 94, is only partially right in saying the mail left St. Louis and San Francisco on Sept. 15. The first overland mail left St. Louis the morning of Sept. 16, as shown elsewhere; see note 15.

²⁸Hafen, *op. cit.*, 94.

²⁹Six is the number of passengers as given by Mr. Butterfield, by the *Springfield Advertiser* as quoted in the *Jefferson Inquirer* of Oct. 16, 1858, and by the *St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat*, of Oct. 15, 1858. Some sources say there were four passengers; see: *Jefferson Inquirer* of Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *St. Louis Republican*, and the *Jefferson Examiner* of Oct. 16, 1858.

of citizens, *nearly* all of whom seemed to rejoice in the accomplishment.²⁸ All but one of the passengers stopped at Springfield to rest after the long journey from California.²⁹ Here at Springfield the first eastbound overland mail was met by John Butterfield, the president of the overland mail company, who accompanied the mail from there to St. Louis.³⁰

From Springfield the mail proceeded north through Bolivar, Quincy, Warsaw and on to Tipton where the Pacific Railroad was reached. From Tipton to St. Louis the mail was carried on the railroad.

The exact route of the overland mail stage through Missouri may be found in a report made by Mr. G. Bailey, a special agent of the postoffice department, who was one of the passengers on the first eastward trip and was evidently the only one to make the entire journey from San Francisco to St. Louis without stopping to rest en route.³¹ Copies of Bailey's report, giving the distances between stations and the names of all stations from San Francisco to Tipton, Missouri, may be found in the St. Louis *Weekly Missouri Democrat* of Oct. 15, 1858, and in the Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer* of Oct. 16, 1858.

Following is the table of stations and distances as given by Mr. Bailey for that part of the route between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Tipton, Missouri:

"Fort Smith to Woosleys, 16; Brodie's, 12; Parks, 20; Fayetteville, 14; ———'s Station, 12; Callaghan's, 22; Harburn's, 19; Conch's, 16; Smith's, 15; Ashmore, 20; Springfield, 13; Evans', 9; Smith's, 11; Bolivar, 11½; Yost's, 16; Quincy, 16; Bailey's, 10; Warsaw, 11; Burns', 15; Mulholland's, 20; Shackelford's, 13; Tipton, 7; ———total three hundred and eighteen miles and a half; time, forty-eight hours and fifty-five minutes."

²⁸*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *Springfield Advertiser*.

²⁹*Ibid.*, quoting the *St. Louis Republican*.

³⁰*Ibid.*, quoting the *Springfield Advertiser*.

³¹*St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat*, Oct. 15, 1858; also the *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *St. Louis Republican*.

Because of the lack of reliable sources by which to check, several of the stations at which the overland mail stopped cannot be definitely located, and consequently the route through Missouri cannot be defined with reference to landmarks of the present. However, by noting the towns in Bailey's report through which the stage passed and which still exist, and by comparing the general route thus defined with road maps of Missouri in 1850 before the inauguration of the overland mail, and in 1861 shortly after the inauguration of the mail, a general idea of the route taken by the stage can be obtained.

A map of Missouri printed in 1850²² shows that a main stage line ran from Bentonville, Arkansas, north, entering Missouri in the southwestern part of Barry county, proceeding north through Washbourn (*sic*) Prairie, Flat Creek, Cassville, McDonald, Crane Creek (in the northwestern part of Taney, now Stone, county) and thence northeast to Springfield in Greene county. From Springfield the main stage road led north through Richland in Greene, to Bolivar in Polk, on to Elkton and Salem in Hickory, and thence to Fairfield and Warsaw in Benton county. From Warsaw the road led north to Cole Camp in Benton, and then east to Versailles in Morgan, and on to Jefferson City by way of Russellville. From Versailles there was a road leading north to Boonville in Cooper county by way of Felix in Moniteau county.

Another map, printed in 1861, shows the roads existing in the section traversed by the overland mail shortly after its inauguration.²³ Two roads from Arkansas met at Washburn (*sic*) Prairie in Barry county and one proceeded north and east to Cassville and on to C'lay Hill in the northeastern part of the county. Two other roads from Arkansas entered southeastern Barry county, one proceeding northwest by Roaring River to Cassville, and the other by Flat Creek to Clay Hill, where it also joined the road from Washburn Prairie. The road continued on north and east to Crane

²²Thomas, Cowperthwait and Co., *Map of Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1850).

²³Lloyd's *Official Map of Missouri*, 1861.

Creek in the northwestern part of Stone county and from there to Wilson Creek and Springfield in Greene county.

From Springfield a road led north through Fairplay and Richland in Greene county to Brighton and Bolivar in Polk. From Bolivar to Quincy, two routes were possible: one by way of Humansville in Polk and Connerville³³ in Hickory to Quincy in Hickory county; the other, by Sentinel Prairie in Polk, to Elkton in Hickory and by Salem and Bledsoe to Quincy. From Quincy the road proceeded by Bishop's Store in Benton county through Fairfield to Warsaw. From Warsaw the most direct road to Tipton as shown by this map, led north toward Cole Camp, branching off to the right before reaching there, and proceeding east and north to Haw Creek Postoffice in Benton county, and thence east to Versailles in Morgan county. From Versailles the road led north through Iona in Morgan, to Felix in Moniteau, and on to Tipton.

At Tipton the overland mail met the one Pacific Railroad train that ran daily between there and Jefferson City. The train was scheduled to leave Tipton at 9:30 a. m.³⁴

The Jefferson City *Jefferson Examiner* of Oct. 16, 1858, noted the passing of the overland mail through that city. "The first overland mail on the route recently established between St. Louis and San Francisco, passed through this city on Saturday afternoon last [Oct. 9] on the Pacific Railroad, in charge of the president, Mr. Butterfield, and arrived there that night, coming through, with one passenger....."

While at Jefferson City, Butterfield wired the President of the United States, announcing the arrival of the first mail from the west.³⁵ The telegram read: "The overland mail arrived today at St. Louis from San Francisco in twenty-three days and four hours."³⁶ The stage brought through six passengers."³⁷

³³Campbell's *Gazetteer of Missouri*, 1874, gives "Cornersville."

³⁴*Columbia Missouri Statesman*, Nov. 5, 1858.

³⁵*Jefferson City Jefferson Examiner*, Oct. 16, 1858.

³⁶See note 26 for explanation.

³⁷Hafen, *op. cit.*, 95, quoting Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California*, p. 13.

At St. Louis that night Butterfield received President Buchanan's reply:

"Washington City, October 9th, 1858.

John Butterfield, President Overland Mail Co.:

Sir: Your dispatch has been received. I cordially congratulate you on the result. It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union.—Settlements will follow the course of the road, and the East and the West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans which can never be broken.

JAMES BUCHANAN.³⁸

The afternoon train of the Pacific Railroad to St. Louis, carrying the overland mail, was scheduled to leave Jefferson City at 1:45 p. m. and to arrive in St. Louis at 8:40 that evening.³⁹

When news reached St. Louis the afternoon of October 9, that the overland mail would arrive there that evening, plans were formed to give a "fitting reception." Before 8 o'clock a large number of "most respectable citizens" assembled at the Planters Hotel and formed a procession. At 8 o'clock the procession marched to the Pacific Railroad station led by the St. Louis Silver Band in "Arnot's band wagon," drawn by six horses.⁴⁰

The train arrived a "little before 9 o'clock." Butterfield was received on behalf of a reception committee by John F. Darby, former mayor of St. Louis and a congressman. In a speech of welcome, Darby congratulated Butterfield for bringing the West Coast into communication with the Mississippi Valley "in the wonderfully short space of twenty-four days" and assured him of the "warmest gratitude of the American people." Butterfield responded in a brief address, giving a summary of the progress of the overland mail venture and a short history of the first trip eastward.⁴¹

³⁸*Jefferson City Jefferson Examiner*, Oct. 10, 1858.

³⁹*Columbia Missouri Statesman*, Nov. 5, 1858.

⁴⁰*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 10, 1858, quoting the *St. Louis Republican*.

⁴¹*Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer and Examiner* of Oct. 10, 1858; *St. Louis Weekly Missouri Democrat*, Oct. 15, 1858, also the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* of Oct. 15, 1858, quoting the *St. Louis Herald* of Oct. 10.

From the depot the band led the procession through the streets to the St. Louis postoffice, where the mail was turned over to postoffice officials. Bags containing copies of the San Francisco newspapers were left at the Planters Hotel where the papers were opened and handed around to the spectators, "who read them with great apparent interest." Copies of the *Alta California*, a San Francisco paper, were most in demand, because it "sported a fine special head of 'By the Overland Mail' and an imposing picture of a mail coach with four horses in full gallop."⁴³

Mr. Bailey, the only passenger to make the through journey to St. Louis, was called on by the assemblage gathered at the hotel, and gave a brief "but interesting" history of the trip. He mentioned that the greatest difficulty along the route was the lack of water. Indians had caused the stage no trouble.⁴⁴ Mr. Bailey furnished the newspapers with a table of distances, stations and time for the entire route from San Francisco.

Outside of the St. Louis publications, Missouri newspapers had few comments to make on the overland mail, or the selection of an all-Southern route. However, in St. Louis the battle reached bitter proportions, the *Democrat* denouncing the route selected and the *Republican* defending it.

The *Democrat* severely criticized the postmaster-general for forcing the operation of a side line to Memphis. This paper also found fault with the circuitous route of the overland mail, advocating a more direct route west from Springfield, Missouri. The action of the postmaster-general was denounced as an "attempt to sacrifice the West to the South," and objection was raised to the long stretches along the route with no water available.⁴⁵ When the New York steamers beat the time of the overland mail, the *Democrat* mentioned it,⁴⁶ but it also noted when the overland mail beat the steamers with California news.⁴⁷

⁴³Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *Missouri Republican*.

⁴⁴Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the *Missouri Republican*; also the St. Louis *Weekly Missouri Democrat*, Oct. 15, 1858.

⁴⁵St. Louis *Weekly Missouri Democrat*, Oct. 22, 1858, p. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid., Oct. 22, 1858, p. 4.

⁴⁷Ibid., Nov. 12, 1858.

The St. Louis *Republican* viewed the new overland mail with less disfavor than did the *Democrat*. The *Republican* lamented "the exactions and impositions so long practiced by the agents of the steamship lines" and argued that the favorable climate of the overland route would "be very potent to direct attention and custom to this new thoroughfare to the outer borders of our great west."⁴⁷ When the overland mail arrived in St. Louis from the West, the *Republican* announced that "a great fact is accomplished." The paper emphasized the advantages of quicker communication with the Pacific Coast as a military advantage, and warmly praised the national administration for encouraging the establishment of the route.⁴⁸

At Springfield the *Advertiser* hailed the arrival of the overland mail as "an important epoch in the history of our country." This paper believed the stage would greatly aid travellers and encourage settlement along the route.⁴⁹

In the following months the overland stages continued to operate on the southern route, giving efficient service. From October, 1859, to April, 1860, the average westward trip took but twenty-one days and fifteen hours, although the law allowed a schedule of twenty-five days. Never was there any serious criticism of the conduct upon this line but the extreme southern route was continually the object of criticism. Not until the opening of the Civil War was the Butterfield Overland Mail removed from the southern route "over which it had operated so regularly and so well."⁵⁰

⁴⁷Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 2, 1858, quoting the St. Louis *Republican*.

⁴⁸Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the St. Louis *Republican*.

⁴⁹Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1858, quoting the Springfield *Advertiser*.

⁵⁰Hafen, *op. cit.*, 90.

THE EARLY CAREER OF JOSEPH CHARLESS, THE FIRST PRINTER IN MISSOURI

BY DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

Something of the early career of Joseph Charless before 1808, when he became the first printer in Missouri, has already been told in my little book *Joseph Charless, Pioneer Printer of Missouri*.¹ But since that brief essay was published, I have been fortunate in coming upon some additional facts, of considerable interest, about Charless and his work as a printer during his first years in America. The purpose of this article is to bring these facts out of the obscurity of the little known manuscripts and other records in which they have long been hidden.

Charless, born in Ireland in 1772, came to America in 1796, from France, where he had taken refuge from the consequences of his activities in the Irish rebellion of 1795. Like Mathew Carey, another Irish refugee who had preceded him to America in 1784, Charless, immediately upon getting a foothold in the new world, embarked on the publication of a newspaper. We have this information from the minutes of the commissioners of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, under the date of May 18, 1796. On that date the commissioners approved a bill in favor of "Joseph Charles" for advertising the proposals for the building of a new court house. This advertising was printed in the *Mifflin Gazette*, a newspaper otherwise wholly unknown, which was published at Lewis-town.²

The name of this printer had always been spelled "Charles" (with one s) in the "old country," but was pro-

¹Chicago: Ludlow Typograph Company, 1931, 39 p.

²The reference to this newspaper was found by Clarence S. Brigham, indefatigable searcher for records of our early newspapers, in the proxy pages of a ponderous work entitled, *History of That Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1890), Vol. I, pp. 507-508. See Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, Part XII: Pennsylvania (A-N)," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n. s., vol. 30, 1920, at p. 139.

nounced in two syllables. It was only after his migration to America that Joseph Charless added the second "s", to preserve the correct pronunciation. If the "Joseph Charles" of the *Mifflin Gazette* of May, 1796, was not the young Irishman who had just recently come to America, the similarity of the names provides a coincidence that is nothing short of amazing. And there is also not the slightest trace of any other printer of that name.

We do not know how long the newspaper at Lewistown was published. At the time it was mentioned in the minutes of the county commissioners, Charless was just short of twenty-four years old and a single man. About two years later, in 1798, he married a widow, Mrs. Sarah McCloud, at Philadelphia. This lady had a three-year-old son, Robert McCloud, who later became one of Missouri's early printers. The next year, Joseph Charless had a son of his own, Edward, born April 2, 1799, in Philadelphia. Edward, like his father and half-brother, also helped to make printing history in the early days of Missouri.

By 1799, Charless was actively at work as a printer in Philadelphia. So far as is now known, there is not extant a single piece of Philadelphia printing which bears his imprint as printer. But the extent of his activities is quite adequately shown by the records of his accounts with Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia printer and publisher. These Carey account books, in beautifully written manuscript, are preserved in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts. The earliest entry pertaining to Charless in these accounts reads: "Jos Charless Esq left with Mr Carey 47 Dibdin's Museum Dollars 7—5 July 23, 1799."

Mathew Carey, born in Dublin in January 1760, had come to Philadelphia in November 1784 and had almost immediately set himself up as a printer. He issued a newspaper, the *Evening Herald*, from 1785 to 1788, and a monthly magazine, the *American Museum*, from 1787 to 1791, sometimes with one or more other printers in partnership and sometimes alone. By 1792 he had turned his attention altogether from printing to publishing and within a few years became the most

outstanding publisher in the new United States. It is reported of him that for the years 1792 to 1799 his sales of books exceeded \$300,000—an enormous volume of business for those days—and that at one time the printing of his books gave employment to 125 printers.

Charless for a number of years was one of the printers whom Carey carried regularly on his books. The bills and statements which Charless submitted from time to time show that he was engaged in the printing not only of books, but also of cards, circulars, handbills, posters, and various kinds of stationery. Settlements in full of the account between the printer and the publisher were infrequent. An entry dated October 31, 1799, shows that "All accounts between Mr. M. Carey and Joseph Charless are finally closed." The last settlement between the two was on November 3, 1802, when Charless gave a receipt for \$29.61 "in full of all accounts."

It was not long after the final closing of his accounts with Carey in October 1799 that Charless once more undertook to become a newspaper publisher. In the spring of 1800 he was advertising his proposals for issuing a weekly paper at Gettysburg. The advertisement as it appeared in the *York Recorder* of April 2, 1800, was headed as follows:

PROSPECTUS
OF A
WEEKLY NEWS-PAPER,
TO BE ENTITLED THE
Gettysburg Gazette, and
Weekly Advertiser;
By Joseph C. Charless

The advertised price of the proposed paper was two dollars a year, "one-half to be paid at the time of subscribing, the other half at the end of six months," and subscriptions would be received "in any kind of merchantable produce."

The prospectus sets forth the policy of the new paper in language that can quite easily be recognized as typical of Charless's journalistic style. Because of its rich tang, characteristic of much of the pioneer journalism in the new

republic, and also because of its possible clues to the character of Charless himself (then a young man of about twenty-eight years), it is here reprinted:

Experience teaches us that Newspapers have their good and evil effects, tending to irritate, or bring in unison the passions of party spirit—the former has been too often the case, the latter rare. A paper printed for the sole purpose of defaming [*sic*] public and private character . . . of opening to public view transactions which occur at the fire side, and exposing to publicity the domestic concerns of our most virtuous citizens, should meet with that reception which it merits.

A paper published on the basis of public utility and a firm determination in the Editor, to be the tool of no party, having for his object the union of *republican* sentiments, on political subjects and reprobation of every contrary principle, with a faithful detail of foreign and domestic news, will eventually convey instruction . . . generalize knowledge: By giving intelligence from every quarter, they excite enquiries; by displaying the good and bad qualities of other nations, they remove ill founded prejudices, or confirm deserved aversion; they communicate beneficial discoveries which would otherwise be lost; they record transactions which engage admiration or rivet disgust; they warn us by example, and instruct by censure; they diffuse taste, they correct prevailing absurdities; they awe the proudest into the coniunction [*sic*] of keeping some terms with morality and public good; they deter the flagitious from crime, lest they should be held up to public detestation; . . . and in fine, they watch over individual and public liberty, which can never be violated while the press remains free.

This promising prospectus ended with the request that those who were entrusted with subscription papers should "send them to Gettysburg as soon as possible, directed to the Printing office of the *Gettysburgh* [*sic*] *Gazette*." This would seem to imply that Charless had opened a printing office in Gettysburg in anticipation of success in establishing his newspaper. If he actually did so, he was the first printer to work in that town. But there is now no trace of evidence that he did any printing there, even of the *Gettysburg Gazette*, of which nothing whatever is known to me except its brave prospectus.

Whether or not Charless printed at Gettysburg at any time in 1800, it seems probable that he was out of Philadelphia for a considerable part of that year. At least, he did no work for Mathew Carey, so far as the Carey account books show, until towards the end of 1800, when the resump-

tion of business relations is shown by entries under the date of November 20 and of December 16.

A bill which Charless sent to Carey in January 1801, covering the printing of a number of children's books done in the preceding November and December, shows quite interestingly the way in which Charless took at least some of his pay for the work he did for the publisher. After details of the charges, it shows the following:

Paid per contra:	
1 silver watch.....	16.40
1 do do	19.94
1 capped and jewelled watch.....	35.96
1 doz Primmers.....	00.50

One is left rather helpless in speculation over the disposition which the printer may have made of so many watches, but there seems to be no doubt of the fact that he accepted them as the equivalent of \$72.30 on his bill.

Other papers in the Carey collection show that Charless drew on Carey from time to time for cash and materials, including supplies for the personal use of himself or his family. On June 22, 1801, for example, there appears a bill of Boggs & Davidson to Mathew Carey "for Jos Charless" for a dozen pocket handkerchiefs, a half dozen cotton hose, and sundry pieces of muslinett, marseilles, India muslin, and cambric muslin, in which it is quite easy to see the needs of Mrs. Charless and her family for new garments. On the same date was entered a bill of Tagert & Smith in the total amount of £125 12s 1d (in depreciated currency, we hope) for "Mdse to Joseph Charless." And on September 2, 1801, the printer drew on his customer as follows:

Mr. Mathew Carey

Please to pay to Dr. Dewees or order Fourteen Dollars 19/100 in Books and Stationary [sic] and place the same to my account.

Joseph Charless

Phila. Sep. 2d. 1801.

Two of the bills among the Carey papers are of considerable interest as showing something of the dealings of Charless with contemporary purveyors of printers' supplies.

One of these has the additional interest of locating for us the Charless shop in Philadelphia. The first, for a supply of ink, was as follows:

	Germantown, June 18th, 1801
Mr. Joseph Charless printer in Phila	Bought
42½ lb Best printing Ink @ 3/6.....	of Justus Fox
for the Keg.....	$\begin{array}{r} £7. \quad 7. \quad 10\frac{1}{2} \\ 0. \quad 6. \quad 6 \end{array}$
	$\begin{array}{r} £7. \quad 14. \quad 4\frac{1}{4} \\ 3. \quad 6. \quad 2\frac{1}{4} \end{array}$
	$\begin{array}{r} 11. \quad 0. \quad 7 \\ 11. \quad 0 \end{array}$
Gray's Ally No. 12	$\begin{array}{r} 10. \quad 9. \quad 7 \end{array}$

Ten months later there was a bill for new type:

Mr. Joseph Charless	Bou ^t of Binny & Ronaldson	
456 lb Small Pica @ 42		\$191.52
Phila. Feb'y 15, 1802.	Received payment	
p M. Carey	Binny & Ronaldson	

Justus Fox, here made known as a purveyor of printing ink, born in Germany in 1736, had spent nearly thirty-five years in the printing establishment of the Christoph Saur, father and son, as apprentice and then as printer, and later as a maker of printing ink, as a typefounder, and as a wood engraver. On the death of the second Christoph Saur in 1784, Fox had bought the Saur typefoundry, established in 1772 and the first in British America to be operated as an independent business, and continued it until his death in 1805. It is apparent that he also continued the manufacture of the printing ink for which the Germantown establishment had become famous. Archibald Binny, and James Ronaldson, both from Scotland, had established their typefoundry in Philadelphia in 1796.

It may be of interest to students of American juvenilia to record some details of the children's books which Charless printed for Carey when he once more began work for that

publisher in November 1800. The following presents the opening entries of a four-page statement of account, covering the period from November 20, 1800, to July 24, 1802, in Volume 17 of the Carey account books in the American Antiquarian Society:

Mr. Mathew Carey 1800	To Joseph Charless
Nov: 20. To 32 Memoirs Washington @ 13 cents.....	4.16
Dec: 16. Printing 1250 Little boy found under a Hay cock....	5.90
do..... 2000 Goody Two Shoes.....	7.40
do..... 2000 Tommy Two Shoes.....	7.40
do..... 2000 Little Francis.....	7.40
do..... 2000 Giant Grumbo.....	7.40
1801	
Jan: 9. do..... 2000 Whittington and his cat.....	7.40
do..... 1500 Many boys and girls, Com: 21120, at 40/ three half sheets—13 Tokens.....	17.40
Feb: 15. do..... Choice Tales..... Com: 26.20	26.20
Press 48 Tokens @ 50/.....	24.00
do..... 7700 Copies Amer: Prim: 17920 m's @ 40/	38.20
Press—62 Tokens @ 50.....	
	152.86

In all the bills submitted by Charless, the price charged, with very few exceptions, was 40 cents a thousand ems for composition, and for presswork 50 cents a "token," which in these accounts meant 250 impressions. But in one case, for example, "50 Lists of prizes in Church Lottery, 4 Octavo pages 6000 m's," he charged 62½ cents a thousand for the more difficult composition, and in another, for a press run of 1,600 tokens, the price was made 47 cents a token—a total bill of \$752!

During most of the first half of 1801, the job with which Charless was principally occupied was the production of 750 copies of the *Conductor Generalis*. Proposals for the publishing of this work were issued in February, in April, and again in July, according to Charless's bills for printing them, and finally on July 30 was entered the sum of \$344.60 for "printing 54 half sheets, Conductor Generalis 750 copies." In the final statement of July 24, 1802, each signature is listed

separately, with the number of ems and the price charged for each. Charless includes in his statement the fifty-four signatures beginning with signature G. Whether he also printed the first six signatures and was paid for them separately, or whether those signatures were produced by some other printer, was not discovered in my examination of the Carey account books.

With the *Conductor Generalis* out of the way, Charless next produced for Carey an edition of 2,000 copies of a Bible in quarto. For this important piece of work the printer on September 26, 1801, entered a charge of \$2278.80, which included \$1526.40 for composition at his regular rate of 40 cents a thousand ems, and \$752.40 for presswork at a reduced price of 47 cents a token. In producing this Bible, and probably in other work done during this period, Charless had several journeymen working for him. If this fact were not perfectly obvious from the volume of work turned out, it could be verified by an item in the statement of account of July 24, 1802. Under August 1, 1801, appears a charge of \$4.50 for "Over-running Signature B, Quarto Bible, Journey-men's charge—18000 [ems]." Incidentally, it appears from this item that the journeyman compositor's rate was 25 cents a thousand ems.

Following the quarto Bible, as his next large undertaking for Mathew Carey, Charless produced a second edition of a school Bible, for which a charge of \$226.40 appears in his final statement of account, under date of February 25, 1802. Other charges on this work were made during the following March, April, and May.

In addition to those already mentioned, a few other books produced by Charless are mentioned in his final statement. On May 6, 1801, there is an entry of \$35 for 1,500 *Child's Guide*, comprising 30 tokens. In December 1801 and January 1802 are charges for printing proposals for a work entitled *The Art of Prolonging Life*. In February 1802 and later are charges for work on the *Columbian Spelling Book*, the *American Primer*, and a volume of Psalms, and also proposals for a work with the title *The Immortal Mentor*. Otherwise, the charges in this statement are for a number of

miscellaneous items that we would now class under the name of job work.

The total of the statement of account to July 24, 1802, was \$3724.60, or an average of not quite \$165 a month for the twenty months covered by the statement. This does not include, of course, sundry items for which the printer received payment at the time, nor does it include the occasional drafts made by Charless on Carey for cash or merchandise. On the whole, it would seem that the connection had been a fairly profitable one for the printer.

The last item concerning Charless found among the Carey papers is a receipt dated November 3, 1802, from Joseph Charless for \$29.61 "in full of all Accounts." Prior to this is a series of fifteen receipts, from July 3rd to October 23rd, totaling \$817. These receipts are all on printed forms in a bound receipt book used by Carey. It is quite evident that Charless could not have signed them if he had not been still in Philadelphia.

This conclusive evidence that Charless was in Philadelphia as late as November 3, 1802, makes it necessary to revise the statement in my earlier essay³ to the effect that this printer removed to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1800 and that his second son, John, was born there in 1801. That statement was taken, without too critical examination, from Frederic L. Billon's *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 1804-1821*, which was printed at St. Louis in 1888. It is now certain that Charless could not have been in Kentucky before December, 1802, and it is possible that he did not get there until about the time that he and Francis Peniston launched their *Independent Gazetteer* at Lexington in March 1803.

It thus seems quite likely that *The Importance of Family-Religion Stated and Enforced*, the 36-page pamphlet which had been presumed to be the earliest known printing with the imprint of Joseph Charless at Lexington, should be dated in 1803 at earliest, and not 1802.⁴ Possibly the first issue of

³Joseph Charless, *Pioneer Printer of Missouri* (Chicago, 1931), p. 14.

⁴The only known copy of this pamphlet, in the library of Transylvania College, at Lexington, has the date so badly slurred in printing that it is not legible. The New York Public Library, in its imprint catalogue, conjectures 1801 as the date, but that is now seen to be impossible.

the *Independent Gazetteer*, on March 29, 1803, was the first printing done by Charless in Kentucky.

Francis Peniston withdrew from his connection with Charless on May 10, 1803, and a little later went to Bairdstown, where he established a newspaper of his own, the *Western American*, on September 6th. After three months of conducting the *Gazetteer* alone, Charless formed a partnership with Robert Kay on August 16, 1803. This connection lasted only six weeks or so, until September 27th, when Charless withdrew, leaving the *Gazetteer* to Kay.

The imprint of Charless & Kay appeared on a little 4-page folder containing the minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists at their meeting in August, 1803. The imprint of Charless alone appeared on six other works of that year, if we include *The Importance of Family-Religion*. These were all religious works, including two hymn books, with the exception of the last, which was *Charless' Kentucky, Tennessee & Ohio Almanack* for the year 1804. On one of the hymn books the imprint reads "Printed and sold by Joseph Charless, Bookseller and Stationer."

The combination of bookselling with printing and publishing, whether or not a newspaper also formed part of the enterprise, was a traditional one in those days. Particularly throughout the new settlements in the "western country" in their early years, people looked to their local printer for their supply of books, so far as they had use for books at all. A staple stock in trade of those early printer-booksellers was the annual almanac. For many of the households on the frontier, it would seem, a copy of the Bible with the current almanac formed the entire family library. Joseph Charless, at Lexington, as a matter of course added an almanac to his publisher's list.

Charless was a devout Presbyterian. He seems to have concerned himself as a publisher with religious and educational works rather than with those that were purely secular. In 1804 he again printed the minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists. Four other known works from the Charless press in 1804 were of religious content. The most pretentious was a book of 237 pages, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*,

a work of the seventeenth century. This was "Printed by Joseph Charless, and sold at his book-store, where may be had a great variety of books on different subjects." There was also the "fifth American edition," in 124 pages, of *Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Antipædobaptism*, by Peter Edwards, pastor of a Baptist church in England. The first school book issued by Charless in Kentucky seems to have been *The American School-Master's Assistant*, "a compendious system of vulgar and decimal arithmetic" in 231 pages, by Jesse Guthrie, an early Kentucky school teacher. And, of course, there was the almanac for 1805.

In 1805, Charless stepped out of his usual field to print the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio*, for the session begun in December, 1804. This was "Printed by Joseph Charless for N. Willis"—Nathaniel Willis being then the publisher of the *Scioto Gazette* at Chillicothe and the state printer of Ohio. Also in 1805, Charless put his imprint on two pamphlets, each of 52 pages, *The Chain of Lorenzo; . . . his Farewell to Georgia*, by Lorenzo Dow, and *A Discourse on Gospel Discipline*, by Elijah R. Sabin.

In 1806 there was printed a little 12-page pamphlet without imprint but typographically similar to other work by Charless and hence provisionally attributed to that craftsman's press at Lexington—*Useful Discovery in a Letter . . . to the Rev. Mr. C***** and Mr. M***.* And in the *Kentucky Gazette* of September 22 of that year appeared an advertisement of a list of school books "just published by Joseph Charless, printer and bookseller." The last known work done by Charless at Lexington was also a school book, *The American Orator*, "containing rules and directions, calculated to improve youth and others in the ornamental and useful art of eloquence," which was printed in 1807.

In 1807, Charless removed from Lexington to Louisville, a newer town, on the Ohio. At that time, there seems to have been only one printer on the ground—Samuel Vail, who was printing the *Farmer's Library* there "for the proprietors." The year before, Francis Peniston, Charless's former partner

in the *Independent Gazetteer* at Lexington, after having issued without result a prospectus for starting a newspaper at Saint Louis, had moved his *Western American* from Bairdstown to Louisville in January 1806. But from all that is known of it, Peniston's paper seems to have come to an end in September of the same year. Charless must have seen an opportunity for another newspaper at Louisville, for on November 24, 1807, he started his *Louisville Gazette*.

Even with the undertaking of this new venture, Charless was already beginning to think, no doubt, of the possibilities offered by Saint Louis to an enterprising printer. The town was growing, and the country surrounding it was attracting settlers from east of the Mississippi. The "District of Louisiana" had lasted only a year and in March 1805 Louisiana Territory had been created. It was a region full of promise—and in all its vast extent it had no printer. In 1808, Joseph Charless, now a mature, experienced man of about thirty-six, decided to make the venture. Prudently, however, he did not burn his bridges behind him, but retained the ownership of his Louisville paper. He arranged for some of the types to be sent to Saint Louis from his Louisville printing office and ordered a press from Pennsylvania. With these preparations he set out, taking with him Jacob Hinkle, a printer, also of Louisville, but leaving his family to join him later.

During the Kentucky sojourn of the Charless family, three more children had been added to it—Joseph, junior, born at Lexington in January 1804, Ann, the first daughter, born at Lexington in 1806, and Eliza, born at Louisville in 1808. It was certainly with no lack of responsibilities that Joseph Charless dared the unknown and thus became the first printer in Missouri.

THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN MISSOURI IN THE SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1861¹

BY GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL²

Dear Mr. Dawson:³

I send you enclosed a copy of the Report of General Ben. McCulloch⁴, which you desire to publish; and think you will find it one of the most interesting documents of the late War. The original, written by McCulloch himself, was kindly furnished to me, in 1865 or '66, by Colonel..... of the Confederate Army, with the understanding, that I could take a copy and use it for publication, whenever I should find it proper to do so. It is correct to the letter; and even the orthographical errors of the writer are duly marked down. The document does not show to whom it was directed; but, from its tenor, I suppose that it was addressed either to Jefferson Davis himself or to the Adjutant-general of the Confederate Army.

The Report comprises the period from the Battle of Carthage, July 5th, 1861, to the retreat of General Hunter from Southwest Missouri, in November of the same year, after Fremont had been relieved. It is so remarkable and, with a few exceptions, so accurate in its details, that it de-

¹This report of General Ben. McCulloch first appeared in print in *The Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America*, March, 1872, Third Series, Vol. I, No. III, Morrisania, N. Y., Henry B. Dawson. It is here reprinted from that publication.

²Franz Sigel was a German soldier who came to the U. S. in 1852, located in St. Louis in 1858, and at the outbreak of the Civil war raised a regiment of infantry and a battery of artillery for the Union army. He commanded a column of the Federal forces under Lyon at Wilsons Creek, and after Lyon's death, led an orderly retreat. He was made a brigadier-general of volunteers, saved the day at Pea Ridge in 1862 and attained the rank of major-general of volunteers. Subsequent defeats, however, caused his removal from commands twice in 1864, and in 1865 he resigned from the army.

³Mr. Dawson was publisher of *The Historical Magazine*.

⁴General Benjamin McCulloch, a Tennessean by birth and a Texan by adoption, rendered distinguished service in the Mexican war. He entered the Confederate service in May, 1861, was appointed a brigadier-general and assigned the command of the Indian Territory. He commanded one of the Confederate wings under Gen. Van Dorn at the battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., March 7-8, 1862, when he was killed by a sharpshooter.

serves a very careful perusal. If you compare with this soldierlike, frank, and precise statement, the *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Volume III., Department of the West, Page 241, and Pope's Letters to Hunter, Page 246 and following, also what Pollard says in his *First Year of the War*, Page 152, you will receive a correct idea of the difference of facts and fancies. Public opinion was right, in declaring the evacuation of Southwest Missouri, just at that decisive moment, an act of treachery and infamy—and so it shall stand forever.

Very truly,
Your friend,
F. Sigel.

GENERAL MCCULLOCH'S REPORT

In reply to your telegraphic dispatch of Nov. 30th, I have the honor to submit the following report.

I must beg your indulgence and ask your permission to go somewhat into detail as to what occurred whilst I had my connection with the Missouri forces under Genl Price.⁵ About the latter part of June Genl Price arrived near the southwest corner of Mo. with about 1700 mounted men, a part of whom were armed, at or near the same time I reached Genl Pearce's⁶ headquarters in the northwest corner of Ark, my whole force being en route from Fort Smith, consisting of Churchill's Reg. from Ark, and Col. Hebert from La. which did not reach that point until some days afterwards. In the mean time I learned that Genl Price had arrived in the neighborhood being some 12 miles distant. I immediately rode over to see if I could serve him at Mo. In a few days Genl Pearce and myself received a letter from Genl Price written by Brig. Genl Parsons from near the Osage

⁵Sterling Price, a former governor of Missouri and a brigadier-general in the Mexican war, was appointed by Gov. Jackson, May 18, 1861, major-general and commander-in-chief of the Missouri State Guards, the troops recruited under authority of the pro-Southern state government to save Missouri to the Confederacy. Price served in this capacity until April 8, 1862, when he gave up his command to become a major-general in the Confederate States Army, with which he served until the close of the War.

⁶Brigadier-general N. B. Pearce was in command of a brigade of Arkansas state militia.

river, to the effect that he was trying to form a junction with the other Brig. Genls Slack and Rains; that the Governor of the State was with them; that they were endeavoring to march towards the southwest part of the State and were pursued by Genl Lyon in the rear, whilst Col. Sigel was in front. I at once rode over to General Pearce's headquarters and we agreed to march into Mo. to aid the Governor in cutting his way through his enemies; whilst Col McRea of Ark. was ordered to go at once to Fayetteville, raise all the men possible in that neighborhood, and make a demonstration on Springfield by the telegraph road. This maneuver was well executed and had the effect of causing Genl Sweeney, then in camp at Springfield, to recall that portion of the force on its march to join Col. Sigel.

It would be well to mention here that the military board of Ark. had instructed Genl Pearce to coopperate with the forces under my comd. At this time we loaned Genl Price some 615 muskets with ammunition for the same. On the next morning my mounted Reg. under Col. Churchill reached us by forced march and we entered the State of Mo. for the first time, and formed a junction with Genl Price it being the fourth of July. My comd consisted of Col. Churchill's Reg. of mounted Riflemen, and Genl Pearce's of Col. Gratiat's [Gratiot's] Reg. of Infantry, Col Carroll's Reg. of mounted-men, and a battery under the command of Capt. Woodruff. We marched as rapidly as possible, expecting to attack the forces under Col Sigel at Neoshoe, but learned before reaching that point he had marched north, to meet the forces with the Gov. of the State, leaving over 100 men at Neoshoe, who were captured by the Reg. under the comd of Col. Churchill, aided by Capt. McIntosh my Adjt Genl That night our whole mounted force reached that point, and after halting an hour or two resumed our march and met Gov. Jackson before 12 M. at the distance of 20 miles.

After a conference the Mo. Genls concluded not to pursue the enemy, but to repair to the south-west corner of the State and organize their forces, as many of them were not formed into Companies or Reg's.

Having accomplished the object for which we entered Mo. (viz. to assist the Gov. in cutting his way thro' the enemy,) Genl Pearce and myself repaired to our camp, and went to work to organize and drill our forces, advising Genl Price to the same course. Very soon we learned that Genl Lyon had arrived in Springfield with some 10,000 men, and at the same time were well aware of the scarcity of supplies among the Mo. forces and the disposition of some to leave Genl Price in consequence, in a word the country he occupied was too poor to sustain him and he was compelled to advance or disband his forces. After a conference with Genl Pearce I went to Genl Price's headquarters and offered to aid him in every possible way, even to marching on Springfield, which was agreed upon. I am particular in giving these details, hoping they will counteract the effect of the report often circulated to my injury, that I was not willing to assist Mo. It will be borne in mind that I was assigned to the Indian Territory with instructions to defend it from invasion from any quarter, and up to and long after this had no other instructions. Consequently I did what was done at my own risk, not knowing that Govt would approve my conduct.

A part of the agreement between Genl Price and myself was that all his unarmed men and campfollowers were to be left at his camp and under no circumstances permitted to march with the army.

When we formed a junction at Cassville some fifty miles distant I learned to my great regret that the whole crowd of camp followers had arrived also. I remonstrated with Genl Price on the violation of the agreement. He said they should be left where we then were, and that I might draw up the plan detailing the order of march upon Springfield, which I did and particularly said the unarmed men were to be left at that point. This order was submitted to Genls Price and Pearce and met their approbation, and not until my division (being the advance) had marched, did I learn that Genl Clark of Mo. had refused to obey the order to leave his unarmed men. I called on him at once and urged him in vain not to set such an example, stating the scarcity of supplies and the danger of a panic as a reason why they should

be left. Knowing the danger of a divided command when brought in contact with one well united, well drilled and under one efficient leader, I considered it of vital importance to rid the army of these men until after the battle was fought, but failed to accomplish it as they all came with Genl Price to where I had halted, some thirty miles from Springfield, the enemy being a short distance in advance. It was at this point I first saw the total inefficiency of the Mo. mounted men under Brig. Gen. Rains, a thousand more or less of them composed the advance Guard, and whilst reconnoitering the enemy's position some 8 miles distant from our camp, were put to flight by a single cannon shot, running in the greatest confusion without the loss of a single man, except one who died of overheat or sunstroke, and bringing no reliable information as to the position or force of the enemy, nor were they of the slightest service as scouts or spies afterwards. As evidence of this I will mention here the fact of the enemy being allowed to leave his position 6 miles distant from us 20 hours before we knew it, thus causing us to make a night march to surprise an enemy, who were at that time entirely out of our reach. A day or two previous to this march, the Genls of the Mo. forces by common consent on their part, and unasked on mine tendered me the command of their troops, which I at first declined, saying to them it was done to throw the responsibility of ordering a retreat upon me if, one had to be ordered for the want of supplies, which seemed likely to be the case, their bread-stuffs giving out about this time; and in truth we would have been in a starving condition, had it not been for the young corn which was just in condition to be used. My troops and those under Genl Pearce were in a little better condition, though by no means burthened with commissary's stores.

At this juncture Maj. Dorn of Mo. arrived with a letter from Genl Polk saying Genl Pillow was advancing into Mo. from New Madrid with 12,000 men.

After further reflection upon our condition I consented to take the command, and to march upon the enemy; preparitory to doing so I asked of the Missourians (owing to their knowledge of the country) some reliable information of

the strength & position of the enemy, repeatedly promised, but this they totally failed to furnish, though to urge them to it, I then and at subsequent periods declared, I would order the whole army back to Cassville, rather than bring on an engagement with an unknown enemy. It had no effect as we remained four days within 10 miles of Springfield and never learned whether the streets were barricaded or if any kinds of works of defence had been erected by the enemy. There was left only the choice at this time of a disastrous retreat or a blind attack upon Springfield. The latter was preferred and orders issued in the evening of the 9th of August to be ready for the march at 9 o'clock P. M. so as to bring on the attack at daylight on the 10th. At the hour named for the march there fell a little rain with strong indications of more, which caused the order to march to be countermanded. After a conference with Genl Price this was thought to be prudent, as we had an average of only 25 rounds of ammunition to the man and no more to be had short of Fort Smith or Baton Rouge. Not more than one man in four was furnished with anything better than bags, made of cotton cloth in which to carry their cartridges. The slightest rain or wet would have almost disarmed us, as many of the men had nothing but the common shot gun and Rifle of the country without bayonets. However the enemy unwisely concluded to attack us in our position, which was well selected, for the kind of arms we had to use against their long range rifled muskets.

On the morning of the 10th information of the approach of the enemy's advance down the creek was soon followed by the precipitate retreat of a portion of Gen. Rains mounted men mixed up with camp followers to the number of probably several thousand, and this too before the firing had begun. I mention these facts to show the unorganized condition of the Mo. forces and what great risk we ran of a panic being communicated to the fighting men of the army, by having such material among them. Very nearly at the same time the enemy opened upon us, both above and below on the creek, those two extremes of our camp being composed of mounted men from Mo. whose duty it was to have kept

pickets on the roads both above and below, on which the enemy advanced.

I have never been able to learn, who ordered these Picketts to leave their posts or if they left them without orders when the time arrived to march the night before at 9 o'clock. Be that as it may, the fault was theirs and not mine that the enemy was allowed to approach so near before we were notified of it. However, I never considered anything lost by their manner of attack, as we were never in a better condition to make battle, every man being ready gun in hand to receive the enemy, when at other times thousands of our men would be miles from camp, hunting something to eat for themselves and horses. In thus going into detail on this subject, I wish to show how unreliable were a portion of the troops under Genl Price, but by no means do I wish to reflect upon the bravery of Genl Price himself, his Infantry or Artillery, who fought heroically at the battle of Oak Hills.*

The Battle over it was ascertained that the camp followers whose presence I had so strongly objected to, had robbed our dead and wounded on the battlefield of their arms, and at the same time had taken those left by the enemy. I tried to recover the arms thus lost by my men and also a portion of those taken from the enemy, but in vain. Genl Pearce made an effort to get back those muskets loaned to Genl Price before we entered Mo. the first time. I was informed he only recovered 10 out of the 615. I then asked the battery to be given me, which was won by the La. Reg. at the point of the bayonet. The guns were turned over by order of Genl Price *minus* the horses and most of the harness. I would not have demanded these guns had Genl Price done the La. Reg. justice in his official report. The language used by him was calculated to make the impression, that the battery was captured by his men instead of that Reg. My official report was written after Genl Price's was printed in Springfield. Let them both be read and let unprejudiced men say, which was best calculated to keep up a feeling of friendship between the armies. It was with this purpose I refrained from men-

*The battle of Wilsons Creek was called the battle of Oak Hills by the Confederates.

tioning facts in my official report, mentioned now in this communication. I always endeavored to prevent ill feeling between our forces, because it was to the interest of both to have them co-operate fully against a common foe.

A few days after the battle of Oak Hills Genl Price wrote me a note and then called on me in person requesting me to march with him to the Mo. river.—I declined to do so, 1st because my whole force fit for duty were required for the protection of the upper portion of Ark, and to keep the Federals in Kansas from gaining access to the Cherokee nation, which still occupied a neutral position, and secondly because I had very little ammunition, some of my officers having informed me, when ordered to be ready to pursue the enemy on the 10th of Aug. that some of their men had fired their last cartridge in the battle of that date, and thirdly because we could expect no cooperation on the part of Col. Hardee or Genl Pillow, I having just received a letter from Col. now Genl Hardee informing me that Genl Pillow had fallen back and in consequence he would be compelled to retire to his former position near the Ark. line. This information I imparted to Genl Price in this interview. On this day the Ark. State troops marched for home, leaving me with about 2500 men fit for duty, 2000 of whom were required to defend the northwest part of Ark. and the Indian Territory.

Whilst General Price and myself have ever been on the most friendly terms personally, yet we never could agree as to the proper time of marching to the Mo. river. Had he thought proper to listen to my suggestions on the subject he would have been advised to fortify Springfield and hold it with his Infantry and Artillery, and post his mounted men so as to give protection against the jayhawkers from Kansas. The Legislature could then have been called together by the Gov. at Springfield, the State have seceded from the Union and her army turned over to the Confederacy. At the time she was admitted as a member, a commander over the State forces and those under me could have been appointed by the President, which would have secured co-operation in all their movements. Then if possible a considerable number of

extra arms to give those who joined us and at the same time a force to have menaced St. Louis from below, would have been the time to march to the Mo. river, raise the strong secession element on both sides of the river, and march down upon St. Louis. At all events it could have been mustered into the Confederate service, and brought off to the Interior of the State and not abandoned after being raised, to be stript of its arms and put in such condition by the Federal Govt as to be of no sort of use in the future struggles in the State for Independence.

Soon after the battle was fought and won at Oak Hills, the forces engaged in its glorious achievement separated. Those under Genl Price for the Mo. river, those under Genl Pearce left for home, whilst those under my command moved off towards the Cherokee nation. I imediately used every exertion to increase my force for the purpose of attacking Forts Scott and Lincoln in Kansas, and just at the time I was concentrating my whole force near the Kansas border, Genl Price came down upon me bringing the inteligence of the approach of Genl Fremont upon Springfield with 30 or 40 thousand men.

This forced me to abandon my contemplated campaign and repair at once to the telegraph road which leads from Springfield to Fayetteville in Ark. where most of my supplies were kept at that time and were liable to be destroyed by a few bold horsemen. Before separating from Genl Price I called on him twice for the purpose of forming some plan upon which to meet the enemy. It was thought best for me to occupy some position between Pineville (where he was to fall back to, if the enemy advanced,) and the telegraph road. This I did and at the same time sent two Regiments under Col McIntosh one from Texas and one from Ark; to a point some 30 miles in advance of my position. From these Regiments scouts were thrown forward to and beyond Springfield, keeping me informed of the movements and strength of the enemy's forces, as they arrived at that point. In the mean-time Genl Price came again into the centre of my column, without giving me the least notice of his intention. I rode in the direction of his head-quarters and met Gov.

Jackson and suggested the propriety of a conference with Genl Price.

We met the next day at a point between the two armies, where it was agreed upon by all the Mo. Genls that we should await an attack from the enemy, the ground to be selected by Genl Price and myself. The day after I went to see Genl Price and we arranged a plan to cooperate in the event either was attacked. Soon my scouts brought the information of the advance of the enemy 12000 strong under Genl Sigel, some ten miles on the telegraph road. I ordered back the two Reg's under Col. McIntosh with directions to destroy the forage near the road, having previously destroyed that around Springfield, also some mills that were useful to the enemy, preparing to give the enemy a warm reception, notwithstanding the disparity in our numbers, his being over 30,000 and mine about 5000 and Genl Price's about 12,000. At this time Genl Price had fallen back to Pineville in accordance with our agreement. I wrote him proposing to draw the enemy; if he did advance and would follow us, into Ark to what is called the Boston mountain. If we could have effected this it would have doubled my force by calling in my two regiments from Texas, then in the Indian nations and the Indian Reg's also. This he objected to, saying his men would not consent to go out of the State of Mo. at the same time expressing a desire to see me. I again met him and told him if we fought the enemy where we were it would amount to nothing but a repulse of his Infantry as he would never bring his baggage wagons and sutlery into so rough a country. Whereas if he could be got down to the Boston mountain, some 60 miles we could get all his cannon, 120, and most of his army with their arms. He said again his men would not leave the State. Whereupon I agreed to fight them in our present position, though I believed it would result in little good to Mo.

In a day or two my scouts brought me the news of the retreat of the enemy from Springfield, Genl Hunter towards Sedalia with over 15000 men Genl Lane towards Kansas with 4000 men, and Genl Sigel towards Rolla with 12000

men. Whilst I was making ready to make a forced march with my best shod horses to overtake the rear of Genl Sigel's column, who was three days behind the others in leaving Springfield, a note was handed me from Genl Price, asking me to join him in pursuing Genl Lane, who had carried off some 600 negroes, belonging to the people of Missouri. I declined to join in the pursuit on the ground, that he could not be overtaken, he having some seven days and one hundred miles the start of us, I informed Genl Price of my intention to make a forced march after Genl Sigel, but received no reply nor did I hear anything more of his movements, except such as was brought by travelers, which are seldom to be relied upon.

It has been asked why I did not pursue the enemy.

In answering this question I will merely state facts and let my superiors say if it would have been advisable to advance under the circumstances.

In the first place my force was entirely inadequate for such an enterprise, it being about 5000 men including 14 pieces of Artillery. 500 of these men had been too much enfeebled by sickness, to be able to take the field, though they would have fought the enemy had he marched upon upon us. This would have reduced my force to 4500 men, 2000 of which it would have been indispensably necessary as recent events have shown to have left for the protection of that portion of Ark. and the Indian Territory. This would have further reduced my command to the small number of 2500. Would it have been prudent with this force to follow Genl Sigel who had 12000 men to Rolla where Genl Phelps was already with 2000 more, or would it have been any better to follow Genl Hunter to Sedalia, who had over 15,000 men? At the same time it will be remembered that both Rolla and Sedalia are the termini of railroads leading from St. Louis, that supplies without trains could be had, and any number of men thrown to these points, long before I could have reached them, and this too when I had made half the distance before they knew of my approach. Again it will be remembered that these points Rolla & Sedalia are about the distance of

200 miles from the position held by me at the time the enemy retreated from Springfield. I had not exceeding three days rations for my men to start with and not a single extra mule or horse-shoe to replace those lost on the march, and this too at the season of the year, when the ground being frozen would render it impossible for our mules or horses to travel without being shod.

It may be asked also why I did not join my forces to those under Genl Price. In answer to this question it will only be necessary to say, that it was impossible for us to march together, owing to the great number of animals in our commands, being not much short of 15000, all of which had to be fed as well as our men on what could be gathered on a march through a country already laid waste by the armies of both sides having repeatedly passed over it. Besides it was always clear to my mind, that we could never maintain a position on the Missouri river, for any length of time owing to the great distance we would be from our resources and the close proximity of those of the enemy, we having to haul in wagon's three or four hundred miles supplies, which he could obtain by railroads or steamboats in a few hours, thus putting it in the power of the enemy to do so as much in twenty-four hours, as we could in as many days, to supply a want of men or means to make war.

It has been said both by individuals and by newspapers that I was unwilling to assist Missouri. Do the many efforts on my part recited above, to aid her, go to prove it, or can the accusation be proved by the fact of my having called on her Genl in chief three times at his headquarters and met him at two other points for the purpose of bringing about concert of action against the large force under Genl Fremont? Truth constrains me to say that neither he nor any officer under him ever visited my camp, though some of his Genls were known to have passed within a few yards from my headquarters at the time.

In conclusion permit me to say, I have endeavored to give a plain statement of matters and things as they occurred, the dates and precise language of the notes and letters referred

to cannot now be given, as they are at this time at my headquarters.

I have the honor to be

Respectfully, your ob'd't serv't
BEN McCULLOCH
Brig. Gen'l.

Dec. 22, 1861

REMARKS OF GENERAL SIGEL

In regard to the above report of General McCulloch.

In addition to what General McCulloch states and what General Hunter gave as his version, in the *Report on the Conduct of the War*, Volume III., Page 244, it seems to me proper to remark that, as far as I am concerned, my views were very positive and expressed so to General Hunter.

I had been in Springfield several days before Hunter and Pope made their appearance; and, when the question was discussed, in a Council of War, whether the Army should advance, I maintained, that General Price and General McCulloch had *not* left the State; and urged a movement against them. In a private conversation with General Hunter, which took place after the adjournment of the Council, I proposed to him to throw his Army into the rear of General McCulloch's position, at Cassville, for the purpose of separating the latter from Price and to cut him off from his natural line of retreat, in case he was defeated. General Hunter seemed to regard this proposition favorably, and requested me to "work it out" and lay it before him, in writing. This was done with the assistance of my Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant-general; and the paper and diagram, showing the projected movement of all the Divisions, were handed to him, on the evening of the seventh or eighth of November. On the eighth, my Division was ordered to Wilson'-creek; but, on the ninth, to Little York and, on the tenth, BACK to Springfield, instead of continuing its march to Verona, as indicated in the diagram.

As soon as the retrograde movement of Generals Hunter and Pope became known, the Union people, who had embraced our cause with the greatest readiness, were struck with

terror and despair. At a distance of more than fifty-miles, the inhabitants fled from their homes and, generally, with nothing more than what they could carry about them, arrived within our lines and in the city of Springfield; while nearly every family in the city who had sympathized with the Army of the North, prepared itself to follow the troops, who had deserted them. So it happened, that the two Divisions under my command (my own and that of General Asboth) had to take care of an immense train of fugitives, whose homes became desolate, whose fortunes were ruined, and who, from that moment, lived the lives of refugees and beggars, often times deprived even of the most necessary articles of food and shelter.

Of course, it is too late to retrieve these misfortunes, but not too late to learn who is responsible for them. It was an outrage without parallel in history, which the letter of President Lincoln, addressed to General Hunter, cannot excuse (*Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Volume III., Page 241*) because, in that letter, it was left discretionary with General Hunter, to follow Generals Price and McCulloch and to force them out of Missouri or to desert a beautiful country and highly patriotic people. In the Spring of 1862, after the Confederates had had it all their own way, for over three months, we marched "down hill," again; but this time the Army did not stop half way, but finished its task, as it should have been finished before, under even more propitious circumstances.

These remarks have nothing to do with the present condition of our political affairs, but relate simply to matters of fact and to the duties of those who have acted, or pretended to act, in the interest of the United States Government and people.

NEW YORK CITY.

F. S.

PROPOSED RAILROADS IN NORTHEAST MISSOURI

BY NORTH TODD GENTRY

It may be of interest to note that in early times, Missourians deemed it important to do two things in the building of railroads: first, to connect the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and second, to connect the Missouri river with that part of our State known as the "Ozark country." In the different railroad projects herein mentioned it will be seen that our people worked with one or both of these ideas in view. One railroad was to cross the Missouri river at Franklin, one at Rocheport, one at Wolf's Point, which was between Rocheport and Cedar City, and another was to cross at Cedar City.

Col. Wells H. Blodgett, for many years vice-president and general counsel of the Wabash railroad, and authority on State history as well as on railroads, once said that the first railroad proposed in Missouri was the Louisiana and Columbia railroad, which was in 1837. By referring to *Laws of Missouri* 1837, page 247, it will be seen that Col. Blodgett was correct; for this company was granted a charter by an act of the general assembly, which was approved by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs on January 27, 1837. At that time, John B. Gordon, Thomas C. Maupin, A. W. Turner and Austin A. King were representatives from Boone county; and Foster P. Wright, Moses Kelly and Adam B. Chambers were representatives from Pike county. These gentlemen fathered the proposition, and to them is due the credit for obtaining this first railroad charter in our State; though a few days later, the general assembly passed acts which granted charters to sixteen other railroads.

The charter of the Louisiana and Columbia railroad authorized it to survey, mark and locate a single or double track railroad from Louisiana through Bowling Green to Columbia, with authority to extend a branch railroad from Louisiana to Clinton (then in Pike county), and a branch road from Columbia to Rocheport. Adam B. Chambers,

Michael Reynolds, Isaac Herrick, Phinneas Block and John S. McCune, of Pike county, and William Cornelius, Sinclair Kirtley, Richard Gentry and David M. Hickman, of Boone county, were the incorporators and constituted the first board of directors. The company was chartered for one million dollars. Mr. Chambers was then editor of the *Salt River Journal*, and later one of the editors of the St. Louis *Republican*.

At the same time, the general assembly granted a charter to the Rocheport railroad company, and it was authorized to build a single or double track branch road from Rocheport to Columbia; and Robert S. Barr, Dr. Anthony W. Rollins, George Knox, John Alexander and William Gaw were named as its first directors (*Laws of Missouri* 1837, page 265).

The Audrain, Boone, Callaway and Pike county deed records do not show that any ground was ever conveyed to either railroad company; and as newspapers were few and devoted themselves to national rather than local matters, little is known of the great stir in those counties over this railroad. However, Hon. Geo. C. Pratt, for many years a resident of Columbia, a civil engineer, a teacher in the University of Missouri and later one of the railroad commissioners of our State, delivered an address in Columbia in 1885, in which he told of this railroad project. He said: "The preliminary survey of this road was made, and the surveyors ran the line from Louisiana to Columbia; and, on reaching Columbia, discovered that interest in the road was at fever heat. A public dinner was given at Gentry's Tavern, then operated by Col. Richard Gentry, one of the directors of the road; and the people attended from all parts of Boone county. Resolutions were adopted calling on the county courts to aid in the enterprise, and the general assembly was asked for state aid; and in addition a subscription from private individuals showed that the right of way and a liberal bonus could be obtained. There was a torchlight procession, music by a brass band and the stores and residences were decorated with flags and bunting. One amusing incident occurred: some people from northwest of Columbia attended, carried their shoes and stockings in their hands, waded the creek,

walked along the dusty roads and of course did not look their best when they appeared at the tavern. Jokingly, the landlord said, 'Yonder come a lot of Black-footers;' and the name 'Black-foot' was given to the inhabitants of that part of Boone county, neither then nor since then definitely defined. It was at first considered a name of disrespect; but now the inhabitants of that good neighborhood glory in the name."

The Columbia & Black-foot gravel road company was organized some years ago and operated as a toll road from Columbia for the distance of eight miles north and northwest; the Black-foot coal company has been chartered and engaged in mining coal near that gravel road for many years; and the Black-foot produce company operated a country store on that road; so there is now no prejudice against the name "Black-foot."

Referring again to the proposed railroad, it should be mentioned that in 1868-9, another road was proposed from Louisiana along much of the line of the first named railroad; it was known as the Louisiana and Missouri river railroad, and Robert A. Campbell, later lieutenant governor, was president. It was constructed and is now operated from Louisiana to Mexico; and it was surveyed, graded and some of the bridges built in Southwest Audrain and in Boone and Howard counties. But the financial troubles of 1872-3 caused the abandonment of the last named part of the road, resulting in heavy loss to many persons.

In 1883, the Central Missouri railroad was chartered, and it was authorized to construct a standard guage road from Hannibal to Columbia and on southwest. Public meetings were held, surveys were run, rights-of-way procured and liberal subscriptions made. Bonds were issued by the road, a committee appointed to visit New York brokers and borrow sufficient money to build the road. General Odon Guitar, a well-known Missouri lawyer, was chairman of the committee, and E. W. Stephens, editor of the Columbia *Herald*, R. B. Price, Jas. H. Waugh, Columbia bankers, Col. Robert P. Williams, a Fayette banker, afterwards State treasurer, and Jacob F. Gmelich, of Boonville, later State treasurer, were on the committee. In passing through Washington, these gentlemen

looked up Hon. John Cosgrove, of Boonville, then the member of congress from this district, and took him to New York with them. At that time, Stephen B. Elkins, formerly of Columbia and a Missouri University graduate, was living in that city, and was in close touch with the money market. He soon came to the conclusion that the proposition was such that the needed money could not be obtained; and, wanting to let them down easy, invited these Missouri friends to have six o'clock dinner with him the next evening. Some years later, Col. Cosgrove told of their experiences as follows: "We did not have swallowtail coats with us, so we visited a merchant tailor and rented suitable evening clothes, and appeared at the Elkins mansion at the appointed time. We were met at the front door by an English butler, who in the most formal manner invited us to come in, when we were ushered up stairs by another servant to a room, where a third servant took our hats and overcoats. We noticed and commented on the fact that finery was in evidence on all hands; to which General Guitar replied, 'You boys are not accustomed to such elegance, but I am as I visit New York oftener than you do. Just follow me.' We did so, and in due time assembled around the dining table, which had on it all kinds of cut-glass and silverware. No one of us knew just what to do. Seeing a napkin in front of his plate, folded up in cone shape, General Guitar took hold of the tip of it and gave it a shake, when a beaten biscuit hit the ceiling and broke into fifty pieces, falling in as many places. Steve Elkins, being from Missouri, could not hold in; he broke out in a big laugh and said, 'Well, boys, that's all right, now let's have a little brandy.' No further invitation was needed; we spent a delightful evening at the Elkins home, and that ended our quest for Wall street money."

In March, 1888, the Hannibal and Columbia railroad was chartered, and the charter amended so as to make it the Chicago, Hannibal and Springfield railroad. Several public meetings were held in the Haden opera house in Columbia and other parts of Boone county, as well as in other counties; a large sum of money was subscribed, also deeds executed for the right of way. Col. J. T. K. Hayward, of Hannibal, was

the leading spirit in this enterprise, and for a time it seemed that the railroad would be built. In Boone county, rivalry over bonus subscriptions became so bitter that a homicide and a noted criminal and civil trial resulted. The differences over this tragedy (both parties being men of prominence) and the political differences in the state and county primary and general election of that year caused the people of Boone county to lose interest in the new railroad, and other counties had similar experiences.

In 1909, the North Missouri Central railroad was chartered and an effort made to build an electric road from Perry (in Ralls county) through Mexico, Columbia, Ashland and Cedar City to Jefferson City; and O. F. Spaete, of New York, was the promoter. This enterprise resulted in numerous law suits in St. Louis and in the counties of Boone, Howard, Cole and Callaway, some of which suits were appealed to the Supreme Court. Spaete "left between suns," landed in jail in Detroit, where he died; and the electric road never materialized.

In 1910, the Mexico, Santa Fe & Perry railroad was chartered and it was authorized to construct and operate an electric road from Hannibal through Perry, Santa Fe, Molino, Mexico and Hereford to Columbia. Judge W. W. Botts, of Mexico, was the mover in this enterprise; and the road was actually constructed and operated from Mexico to Santa Fe (in Monroe county) the distance of sixteen miles; and the road was constructed southwest of Mexico for four miles. Differences having arisen between those in charge, and debts having piled up, it was decided to sell the real and personal property of the road, which was done in 1918. As the World war was then in progress, strange to say, the copper wire, railroad iron and junk sold for nearly enough to pay the original cost. This is one of the few railroads of our State that was partly constructed and abandoned with so little loss to any of its stockholders.

While these electric roads and the St. Louis and Kansas City Air line were being discussed, the Columbia Commercial club, in February, 1911, gave a railroad banquet in the dining room of Lathrop hall on the University campus, at which

several hundred persons attended, and all were enthusiastic for these electric roads. A prize steer named "Ever Onward," raised and fattened on the agricultural college farm, furnished meat for the occasion; and every orator that evening had something to say about Columbia and Boone county and Missouri moving "Ever Onward." The printed programme of that banquet shows that the toastmaster had charge of the "Columbia Limited," so called, which had various subdivisions, each responded to: the Locomotive by Hon. John T. Barker, the Baggage car by Dr. A. Ross Hill, the Day coach by Hon. Frank G. Harris, the Dining car by Dean F. B. Mumford, the Observation car by R. B. Price, the Track by Fount Rothwell, of the city street committee, and the Union station by Hon. Frank W. McAllister. Mrs. Luella W. St. Clair, now Mrs. Moss, in responding to a toast, said that she felt like she was in the Smoking car.

The toastmaster, a man named Gentry, concluded the banquet exercises by repeating the following:

The electric roads are coming,
We hear them just at hand;
We see the car wheels rolling
And rushing through the land.

The North Missouri Central is coming,
And the Mexico-Perry, too,
The Air line soon will follow,
All making Columbia through.

We can hear the gong and sizzling,
They'll always be on time.
The electric roads are coming,
Even though it's told in rhyme.

It will be seen that six efforts have been made to build a railroad from a city or town on or near the Mississippi river to Columbia during the past ninety-five years, but each effort was a failure; and the concrete highways have now made such a railroad unnecessary.

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

EIGHTH ARTICLE

MACK AND THE NEWS

"The *Globe-Democrat* is now paying more money for the collection and transmission of telegraphic news from all parts of the world than is paid by any other newspaper in any city of the world, New York and London excepted."

This, in impressive type, was carried at the top of the editorial page. It was not bluff. It did not appear until there had been organized and trained a news service such as was without precedent in journalism. For the guidance of his hundreds of correspondents, Mr. McCullagh laid down forty-eight rules. He enforced them. These rules were definite and explicit. They were models in composition and some of them "pointed as a tack." They told the correspondent what to send, how to send, and moreover what not to send. To start with they stressed the following:

"1. Correspondents of the *Globe-Democrat* must not act as correspondents of any other morning paper published in St. Louis.

"2. Matter sent this paper must be strictly accurate as to fact. Bogus items, manufactured sensations and highly colored articles lacking in solid basis of fact are not wanted.

"3. Correspondents who send matter by wire in contravention of the rules of this circular may expect to have their dispatches returned for collection of tolls. No reason exists why any correspondent should wilfully or carelessly put a newspaper to the expense of paying for matter which cannot be used.

"4. Do not use the mail for sending news. The mail is irregular, liable to delay in collection, forwarding and delivery. The post-office is not responsible for accidents. News that is worth printing in the *Globe-Democrat* is worth paying telegraphs tolls on.

"5. Good news is often scarce. This journal desires no other kind. When there is nothing to send, send nothing."

Instructions for the preparation of matter to be telegraphed went into much detail. Illustrations were given of the right and the wrong way to file specials. "Make a separate special of each item;"—this was underscored. "No rule is so frequently disregarded as this. Correspondents have a great fancy for sending several distinct items lumped together between one date line and one signature. Put the filing time of each special immediately after the date. This gives a check on the operator, who is compelled to transmit the filing time as written."

"File your matter as early as possible. Nothing causes more trouble in a newspaper office than the bad habit which many correspondents have of filing matter unnecessarily late. Reports of day's happenings should be filed not later than 7 p. m.

"Let your matter be free from comment. Don't use the first person. Don't lug in 'your correspondent' when it is possible to avoid doing so.

"All items must be clean cut, and give names of persons and places and date on which the event reported occurred. Indefinite items, lacking in these particulars, are not wanted.

"From time to time the Managing Editor issues special circulars requesting particular classes of news. These circulars are to be, under all circumstances, regarded as confidential. We do not prompt our correspondents for the benefit of other papers.

"Never say 'A prominent citizen says' so and so. If his name can't be used, leave out his statement. The 'prominent citizen' never materializes when a libel suit is on trial.

"Correspondents in Texas are prohibited from sending us news items worded like those which they send to any of the Texas papers."

MCCULLAGH ON CRIMINAL NEWS

Taking up particular classes of news Mr. McCullagh elaborated on the *Globe-Democrat's* policy respecting crimes. And it is notable that this policy was restrictive rather than

expansive in that early period. "Don'ts" were frequent in these instructions about criminal news.

The statements of prosecuting witnesses and prosecuting officers are to be received with caution and never given as absolute fact. Every man accused of crime is entitled to a fair and truthful presentation of his case. Be particularly careful about cases regarding the use of other people's money. A man may have used his employer's money and be guilty neither of larceny nor embezzlement. A misappropriation of money which should form the basis of a civil suit for restitution does not always admit of a criminal charge being preferred.

In murders give the facts fully, but don't write against space, and don't stop to moralize. If possible send histories of the murdered man and his slayer. Don't hint at mysterious causes of crime. Do not send daily reports of testimony in murder trials without orders. In such cases ask for instructions.

Seductions, rapes, cases of incest and other unnatural relations are not wanted beyond the briefest possible mention in decent language. If lynching follows the commission of any of these crimes, send the lynching in full and then recite the original crime. Where a lynching appears imminent, a correspondent should be on the lookout and have arrangements made for the instant use of the wire. All occasions in which a mob spirit finds full exhibition should be reported.

The following crimes are not wanted at all: horse stealings, larcenies and burglaries, unless a large amount of money, not less than \$1,000, is involved, or the burglar kills somebody, or is killed or wounded himself, cutting scrapes and assaults which are not fatal. In a general way avoid trivial criminalities of all kinds.

When it is finally assured that a man is to hang, send by mail at least seven days before execution, a history of the crime for which he dies. This history should not exceed over 500 to 700 words. On day of execution send 300 to 500 words by wire of scenes of execution.

One illustration showing how well the 48 rules worked out was given in the following editorial paragraph:

The *Globe-Democrat*, as a newspaper professing and intending always to keep up its record of current events, is grieved to confess that it has been distanced in a matter of purely local interest by two "foreign" journals, to wit: the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and the Chicago *Tribune*. The matter is the hanging of Sam Orr, at Mt. Vernon, Lawrence County, on Thursday last, which is fully and graphically portrayed by our Cincinnati and Chicago contemporaries. They both assure us that Mr. Orr "died game." We dispatched a reporter to Mount Vernon, and instructed him to send details of the execution, by telegraph. He attempted to excuse his apparent dereliction by the allegation that Mr. Orr, so far from having "died game," did not die at all, the supreme court having granted him a stay of execution

until the 18th. This trifling circumstance, however, was not allowed to interfere with the overwhelming desire of the *Tribune* and *Enquirer* for "news."

SOME OF THE DON'TS

Political news called for special instructions.

When a big political event is near at hand notify this office and ask for instructions. In "off years," when there is no national campaign, trim political matter to the smallest possible number of words. Be strictly fair and impartial in your political reports.

Obituary literature should at all times be as condensed as possible. Funerals need not be noticed.

In civil court proceedings report only cases involving large amounts or values. Do not advertise the counsel in a case.

Don't send a weather report every very hot, or every very cold, or every very wet day.

Send all interesting elopements. Remember that the fact of a man and woman going to a train and failing to show up for a day or two does not necessarily constitute an elopement.

Send by wire only high-society weddings. Make the report brief and do not used stereotyped phrases. Toilets and lists of presents are not wanted.

In strikes and lockouts send only facts. State the case from the employer's as well as from the employee's side. Report all cases of violence by strikers. The communistic utterances of labor agitators are not wanted.

Keep the office notified of important religious gatherings. In a general way report what is done at church assemblies rather than what is said. It is only the great leaders of the flock whose utterances should be reported by wire. A church controversy or any individual squabble is always in order.

Make reports of teachers' institutes and commencement proceedings as brief as possible. Full programmes are not wanted, but the more important and deserving features might be briefly noticed. Puffery of teachers and graduates will not be tolerated.

THE PAY ROLLS

As definite and as clear as the rules to guide correspondents in preparing and sending in the news were the stipulations about compensation. The system was wholly businesslike. Mr. McCullagh knew and told just what he wanted in news. The *Globe-Democrat* paid in full and promptly. Correspondents were required to keep account of what they sent and what was printed.

Correspondents are paid either a stated salary or so much per special, or by space.

Correspondents paid by space are paid at the rate of \$6 per column, solid nonpareil, not including headlines or special lines, and will be required to furnish a pasted "string" at the end of each month. Such correspondent should send a string and not a collection of separate slips.

Correspondents paid by the special will be paid 50 cents for each special of 100 to 150 words. Large items will be paid at the regular space rate. A correspondent who is paid by the special should see that his dispatches average at least 100 words to each 50 cents. Where a long string of special averages only from 30 to 50 words each they will only be valued and paid for at the rate of 25 cents each.

No correspondent receives the *Globe-Democrat* free.

The value of news depends upon quality and good news brings more than poor news. For exclusive good news an extra rate will be paid, according to quality. This office will cheerfully pay extra expense incurred in getting valuable exclusive news.

Mr. McCullagh extended this news service west to the Rocky Mountains, south to the Gulf, north to the line of competition with the Chicago papers, and east to the Wabash where the *Globe-Democrat* met the Cincinnati papers. In commissioning these local correspondents no question of their politics entered in. More than half of them were Democrats and not few were connected with Democratic weekly or small daily papers. But all of them were held rigidly to accuracy and fairness.

With the growth of population centers in the West and South, and with development of the Associated Press and the syndicates such a news service as Mr. McCullagh planned and organized might not have been expedient. But to those who knew the inner workings of it in its heyday it was a marvel in circulation building and business influence. Mr. McCullagh called the *Globe-Democrat* a school of journalism. It was that for the men he trained under his immediate supervision. But the news service he expanded was a correspondence course in journalism the results of which have come down with telling effect on two generations of newspaper men in the Southwest.

The extent to which Mr. McCullagh carried the news service may be judged from a paragraph printed June 3, 1883:

"The *Globe-Democrat's* 'Society Elsewhere' department is booming. In to-day's issue we print society news from fifty-six cities and towns outside of St. Louis. The *Globe-Democrat* inaugurated this feature of Sunday journalism several years ago, and it is now in vogue in most of the large cities. But no newspaper covers anything like the extent of territory or the number of towns covered by the great religious daily."

At irregular intervals there appeared in the *Globe-Democrat* from two to four columns of stories about old people. Names and localities were given with brief biographical matter. Usually the stories were limited to about 300 words. Readers wondered where the *Globe-Democrat* found so many octogenarians and some questioned if fiction writers did not contribute to these symposiums of the aged.

Another feature which caused talk and started reminiscences was the *Globe-Democrat's* collection of ghost stories appearing from time to time. And still another feature was the natural-history department. Faith cures and spiritualistic manifestations had their turns, filling from a third to half a page. There was method in the presentation of these features. One of these stories printed by itself would have attracted only passing notice, but stories of old people, ghosts or animals massed to fill two or three columns or more, and with studied typographical plan excited extraordinary interest and impressed journalistic enterprise. Rule 46 is enlightening:

"The *Globe-Democrat* makes a specialty of stories about old people, ghost stories, faith cures, spiritualistic manifestations, stories about animals, and rare and curious incidents generally. Much of this matter can be conveniently sent by mail."

These features not only interested the readers but they inspired imitators as Mr. McCullagh pointed out:

Some weeks ago the *Globe-Democrat* started a new department, devoted to natural history,—chiefly snakes. A number of journals have since adopted the idea, but we observe that many of them go entirely beyond the bounds of truth and probability in what they write. Our snake department is edited by an expert and is therefore reliable. We caution the public against the romancing of some of our contemporaries; ours are the only genuine snake stories published.

The *Republican* is evidently jealous of the *Globe-Democrat's* snake department. If the *Republican* should start a snake department, it would take ten years to bring the subject down as late as Aaron's serpent.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* has been cooperating with the *Globe-Democrat* in the collection and publication of the phenomena of natural history vulgarly called snake stories. We have hitherto given the *Commercial's* stories full credence and belief, but now comes one relating how a snake drew sustenance from a cow after the manner of a full-grown calf. This might be received in evidence before the Louisiana Senatorial investigation, but the *Globe-Democrat* cannot accept it. We must draw the line somewhere and we draw it on that cow's teat.

At the time when Mr. McCullagh was given editorial management of the *Globe-Democrat* another young man, who had grown up with the old *Missouri Democrat*, beginning with the position of office boy, came into full business control. Daniel M. Houser lived twenty years after McCullagh's editorial grasp relaxed. He never allowed a pay day to pass. Lean years in the newspaper business came without cut in salaries. Mr. Houser never grumbled over legitimate expense accounts. At times the cable and telegraph tolls were staggering but, in the words of Eugene Field's tribute to "Little Mack," "Houser paid the bills." Unquestionably the business control and counting-room policies were vital factors in the up building of the *Globe-Democrat*. Financial success through two generations was represented by dividends which ranged from a quarter of a million dollars upwards, year after year.

HOW HE KEPT UP THE CIRCULATION

Mr. McCullagh's verbal contract to "keep up the circulation" was fulfilled from the start. The circulation rapidly increased. Repeatedly the *Republican* was challenged for a comparison of press-room figures and made no answer.

"A correspondent informs us that he has made a bet that the circulation of the *Globe-Democrat* is double the circulation of the *Republican*. We have given him our figures copied from the press-room returns, for three successive days. Now let him get the *Republican's* figures and he may consider us an equal partner in any bet he may be able to make similar to the one in which he has already invested."

A wager of \$500 that the *Globe-Democrat* circulation exceeded the *Republican*, the loser to pay to a committee for

distribution to charitable institutions, was offered and also ignored. The prodding on this issue of circulation went on week after week with paragraphs such as these:

"The *Times* has been interviewing somebody who is puzzled to account for the great circulation of the *Globe-Democrat*. There is no mystery to us in that matter. We print the best newspaper in St. Louis and everybody takes it because of this fact. People take the *Times* for the party's sake; the *Republican* for charity's sake and the *Globe-Democrat* for its own sake."

The next step was a proclamation that the *Globe-Democrat* is "the only newspaper in the city or country willing to keep its press-room open to the world while the edition is being run off,—daily or weekly." Invitation to the public to come and see was published. A little later appeared monthly the sworn statements of circulation, an innovation which in that generation shocked rival publishers.

In January, 1880, the *Globe-Democrat* had forged to the front with such success that the price was advanced by the management to thirty cents a week for local subscribers and to twelve dollars a year by mail. This was an increase of twenty per cent.

The circulation of the Sunday *Globe-Democrat* is steadily and rapidly increasing, which is not at all remarkable, considering its merits as a newspaper, and comparing them with those of its contemporaries. The poor old *Republican* is getting duller and more dish-washery every week. The newsboys are stuck on it every Sunday, and agonizingly offer three copies for five cents before 10 a. m.

A correspondent—and he is one of a very large class to which he belongs—writes to us that he hates the *Globe-Democrat*, but he buys it regularly "to find out what is going on." We are sorry to incur the hatred of any of our fellow-men; but a large experience in the newspaper business has taught us that no man's love will go as far as his nickel in paying printers and telegraphers.

The *Globe-Democrat* is a strictly Republican paper, and yet its report of the Democratic State Convention will be read by five Democrats in the State of Missouri where one will read any other paper, and not one who makes the comparison but will admit our report is more full, free and fair, better written and better worth reading than any given by the organs. This explains how it comes to pass that in a Democratic State a Republican paper has the largest circulation.

BUILDING FOR PERMANENCE

While circulation in figures loomed large in the *Globe-Democrat's* upward movement, it was not the whole thing in Mr. McCullagh's calculations. The editor found equal if not greater satisfaction in the character of the increasing number of readers.

"You will find that you cannot judge a man's politics by the fact that he is reading the *Globe-Democrat*," he said to a visiting newspaper man. "If he is reading the *Republican* you can be sure he is a Democrat. Before I came to St. Louis, I edited the *Republican* in Chicago for a time. The *Chicago Times* was at that time by far the biggest newspaper in the West. But it used to come out day after day with a very small amount of advertising—much less than the *Tribune*, although it had four times the *Tribune's* circulation. Storey did not care very much because he had other ways of getting money. But I was surprised that the *Times* had so small a share of advertising, and meeting the advertising manager of Field, Leiter & Co. one day I asked him about it. He told me his firm advertised in the *Tribune* simply because the *Tribune* reached the people whose custom they wanted."

The decade 1880-1890 brought an evolution in Mr. McCullagh's newspaper policies. Previous to that he had aimed to make the *Globe-Democrat* talked about and to win circulation. Successful in both of these directions the paper was showing annual dividends which were without precedent in St. Louis journalism. And now came a new area in the upbuilding of the *Globe-Democrat*. Mr. McCullagh abandoned, except in rather rare intervals, that local personal journalism which had enlivened the editorial columns in the earlier years. He was building with a purpose for permanence. The *Globe-Democrat* became more dignified but not dull. Local reforms were given secondary place. The wider field was studied. New features, the influence of which would be felt far beyond the borders of the city and in the years to come, were planned with care. More frequently Mr. McCullagh gave out through the editorial columns his theories of newspaper character and lasting success. Many times and in varying forms he declared

that the best newspaper was that which most accurately, most comprehensively, most attractively recorded current history. "Current history!" That became a favorite expression with him.

"Today's *Globe-Democrat* consists of 24 pages. It is the equal in size of three numbers of any paper printed in New York. Its contents will speak for themselves, whether in news or advertising. In the former the history of the world is given; in the latter nearly every merchant of this great city speaks of and for himself. The issue as a whole is one of which we have reason to be proud. It is objected by some that these double and triple numbers of the *Globe-Democrat* are 'too big.' Did anybody ever object to a hotel's bill of fare because it was too long or contained too many dishes? No guest is supposed to eat all there is on a bill of fare at a hotel, and no reader is obliged to 'take in' every line there is in a newspaper. But a great newspaper, like a great hotel, must be conducted on the theory that tastes differ—and the best newspaper, like the best hotel, is that which prepares the largest variety in entertainment for the largest number of guests. It's a very queer taste that cannot find five cents' worth to suit in to-day's *Globe-Democrat*."

THE PAGE OF ESSAYS

He greatly strengthened his editorial page, bringing to it Captain Henry King of Kansas and Professor Charles M. Harvey of New York. Captain King was one of the most polished, forceful writers of his generation. Professor Harvey had a fund of historical information which made him an authority in the American field. Mr. McCullagh utilized the distinctive qualities of these two men. He inaugurated as a Sunday feature a solid page of essays. This page was maintained year after year. The essays were signed. Captain King in pleasant, philosophic vein filled two columns. Then came Professor Harvey's two columns in the historical vein. The topics were chosen carefully and were timely. There was nothing of the space-filling quality about them. Sunday readers of the thoughtful class found that page wonderfully attractive. Many a *Globe-Democrat* essay was transferred to

private scrapbooks. Captain King and Professor Harvey held their columns with unflagging interest. The remaining three columns were filled by other writers, changed as Mr. McCullagh thought freshness was needed. Rev. Dr. Snyder, successor to Rev. Dr. Eliot at the Church of the Messiah, was invited by Mr. McCullagh to fill the seventh column. Mr. McCullagh thought the typographical appearance of the essay page was materially enhanced by each essay ending with the foot of the column. Captain King and Professor Harvey, with the space habit firmly fixed, were able to conform to the rule of the even columns without trouble. Dr. Snyder was advised that he must not overrun. In writing his first contribution to the essay page he turned in copy which would have filled a column and a quarter. Mr. McCullagh edited out the excess. Monday morning Dr. Snyder, with a disturbed look, entered the old editorial den at Fourth and Pine streets. By chance Martin R. H. Witter, the foreman of the composing room, at the same time came in for the first daily conference with the chief on the next day's news probabilities. Mr. McCullagh did not wait for Dr. Snyder's protest. He made a gesture in the direction of Witter and said:

"There is the man. I told you he would do it if you ran over the column. Talk to him."

Dr. Snyder looked at the foreman who responded with a gaze of great amiability.

"His appearance proves that a man can smile and smile and still be a villain," Dr. Snyder quoted sententiously and made no further reference to the mutilated essay.

"THROUGH TEXAS"

Globe-Democrat correspondents and artists were sent south, west and north on commissions to write and sketch, paying their way and dealing with subjects which Mr. McCullagh conceived to be interesting to the readers of the paper. Communities were at first incredulous, if not suspicious. They had been worked for so-called "write-ups" on a strictly financial basis,—so much money or so many subscribers per write-up. Two representatives of the *Globe-*

Democrat called on Tom Randolph at his bank in Sherman, Texas. They told him they had been sent down there by Mr. McCullagh to see what there was in Texas the readers of the *Globe-Democrat* might be interested in. The banker looked puzzled but he sent out for several men of affairs, and said:

"I don't know just what the scheme is, but these men want information about our town, and I think we may as well give it to them."

At that time Sherman was pioneering the way in economic treatment of cotton seed. A mill had been built with local capital. A man with inventive genius and a vision was grinding the seed and obtaining valuable products from what had long been treated as waste at the gins. Results obtained at Sherman were of far-reaching influence. Cotton-seed oil, cotton-seed meal, cotton-seed cake for cattle feed, and other by-products of the once-despised seed became commercial assets of the south.

The Sherman cotton-seed mill was only one of many discoveries made on that *Globe-Democrat* expedition through Texas. After the letters and pictures appeared and when no attempt was made to sell extra copies or to canvass for subscribers, Texas people awoke to a comprehension of the McCullagh policy, and Texas newspapers widely commented on that policy. Capital, interested in the development of Texas, obtained the use of the letters and pictures, published them in book form and sent ten thousand copies to the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 for free distribution from the Texas State building. Commenting upon the distinctive character of the *Globe-Democrat* policy in this regard, Mr. McCullagh once said:

A correspondent, writing from one of the interior towns of Illinois, tells us that a gentleman connected with the *Republican* office has been there recently and has made the proposition that if a sufficient number of subscribers could be obtained to pay for the "enterprise," a local correspondent would be employed. He gives the hint, he says, that we may act upon it. Thanks for the hint, but we won't act upon it. It is the worst kind of journalism. The *Globe-Democrat* is a national newspaper. It has regular correspondents at all the news centers of the East, and in all the principal towns in the West. If we were to fill our space with little items from

country towns, irrespective of their general interest, we should lose our hold upon the general public. Then, again, it is our practice to give the news first and get the subscribers afterwards, and not ask an indemnity fund from our patrons in advance. This may not be as good as the *Republican's* idea, but by adhering to it we are enabled to scrape together enough money to pay out more than \$40,000 a month for running the *Globe-Democrat*.

(To be continued)

MISSOURIANA

- Pronunciation of "Missouri"**
- "Bloody Island"**
- Early Daily Newspapers**
- The "Rebel Yell"**
- Daniel Webster Visited St. Louis**
- Advertisements in the Pioneer Press**

PRONUNCIATION OF "MISSOURI"

The pronunciation of "Missouri" is even today a matter which frequently calls for consultation with a dictionary. The uncertainty with which "Missouri" is often approached in spoken language would seem to indicate that various ways of pronunciation have been in use, and this assumption is evidently the case.

Col. James O. Broadhead of St. Louis recalled about 1876 that when he was a boy, "Missouri" was pronounced as though it were "Mizzoura." His theory was that, after the State and river were named for the Missouri Indians, the name had been gradually softened into "Mizzoura."

At Chicago in 1893 there was produced a play by Augustus Thomas, entitled "In Mizzoura." In an interview with Thomas which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* in that year, "Mizzoura" was claimed to be a "fair idea" of the local pronunciation of "Missouri." Thomas recalled that when he was a boy, his teacher, who was from Boston, taught him to pronounce the name "Miss-sou-ree." Thomas' father overheard this "Boston pronunciation" and forbade the boy to use it, asserting that the correct way was to say "Mizzouraw." And the father claimed that Senator Benton, General Shields, General Lyon and Frank Blair all said "Mizzouraw."

However, the editor of the *Kansas City Star* in 1893 took warm exception to Thomas' phonetic rendering of "Missouri." The *Star* objected to the title of the play and its spelling as "expressive of uncouthness and suggestive of barbarism." But despite the indignation of the Kansas City editor, it was

none other than the famous Eugene Field who often wrote the name of his native state as "Mizzoorah."

In October of 1897, the placidity of the Missouri press was disturbed by the announcement that the school board of Columbia had directed its teachers to instruct Columbia school children that Missouri should be pronounced "Miz-zou-ry." Walter Williams, then editor of the *Columbia Herald*, now president of the University of Missouri, approved and defended the pronunciation "Mizzouri" in the columns of his paper.

The Missouri press immediately reacted, voluminously, although certainly not unanimously. An editorial in the *Columbia Herald* on Oct. 8, commending the pronunciation "Mizzouri," brought some warm responses. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* called despairingly on the shade of Col. Benton, and meanwhile hastened to champion the pronunciation of "Mizzoura." The *Post-Dispatch* said: "'Mizzoura' rolls from the tongue with mellifluous [sic] grandeur. It must be spoken with open mouth and erect head. It suggests beauty and greatness. 'Mizzouri' is diminutive. It ends in a piping squeak. A lion's roar to a pe-wee's pipe!"

But the Columbia editor answered the *Post-Dispatch* and other scorers of "Mizzouri" with a flood of communications from the governor, senators, congressmen, and other prominent Missourians. These letters and communications, printed in the *Herald* of Oct. 22, and filling column after column, seemed to favor "Mizzouri," although by no means unanimously. In the same issue, the editor wrote that he believed he found three ways to pronounce Missouri. First there was "Mis-soori (or -ree)," with the harsh "s" sound: this pronunciation was supported by "the dictionaries" and had the sanction of "the New Englander." The second form, "Mizzourah," was used by men such as Col. William F. Switzler, and Southerners, generally, comprising a "respectable minority" of Missourians. The third pronunciation noted by editor Williams was "Mizzouri," which he said was the correct way, decided by the usage and habit of a majority of intelligent people.

On the whole, dictionaries and encyclopedias generally agree as to the pronunciation of Missouri. *The Encyclopaedic*

Dictionary (1894) edited by Robert Hunter, gave the pronunciation as "Mis-sou-ri"—the "i" as in pit and the "o" as in who. *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* (1911) gave "Mi-zo-ri" . . . the "o" as in move or spoon.

Recent dictionaries give two general pronunciations. *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1923) lists first, the preferred form, "Mi-soo-ri," with the "i" pronounced as in ill; the second preference is "Mi-zoo-ri." *Funk and Wagnalls' New Standard Dictionary* (1931) gives "Mi-su-ri" or "Mi-zu-ri," the "u" pronounced as in rule.

"BLOODY ISLAND"

No other locality in the history of Missouri has won a greater notoriety as a dueling place than "Bloody Island" in the Mississippi river opposite St. Louis. Here, on secluded land not definitely located in either Missouri or Illinois, some of the most brilliant men of early Missouri met tragic death in the settlement of personal disputes. Considering the importance which the island played in the history of early Missouri, the history of the island itself and the story of how it obtained its gruesome name are not without interest.

About the year 1798 a sandbar first appeared in the river below Bissell's Point in Illinois, the first appearance of what was later to be known as "Bloody Island." The newly forming island divided the current of the river, part cutting into the Illinois shore and the other part depositing sand in the harbor in front of St. Louis. By 1825, half of the river was diverted east of the island, and by this time cottonwoods, sycamores and willows had covered it. The harbor at St. Louis was fast becoming filled up by the action of the river, and seriously menacing the future of St. Louis navigation. Efforts were made from time to time to divert the main channel of the river back to its former course close to the Missouri side, and finally in 1856 dikes were completed which accomplished this objective. Thus "Bloody Island" became a permanent part of Illinois and today forms a part of East St. Louis.

But just how and when did the island come to be known as "Bloody Island?" The first duel fought there was apparently in December, 1810, between Dr. B. G. Farrar and James A. Graham, but it was not for many years later that the term "Bloody Island" came to be applied to it. Scharf, in his *History of St. Louis*, says (p. 1849) that the island gained its name of "Bloody Island" from "three fatal encounters there in 1817, 1823, and 1831." It is evident, however that it was not at least until after 1831 that the island received its name. Historians in writing of duels on the island before 1831 often call it "Bloody Island," but such cases are evidently anachronisms.

The rules of the Hempstead-Barton duel in 1816 referred to the dueling place as "the island in the Mississippi, opposite LeRoy." The rules of the Benton-Lucas duel in 1817, which sent Charles Lucas to death at the hands of the future United States Senator, Thomas Hart Benton, referred also to the island as "the island opposite Madame Roy's." And in reporting the Rector-Barton duel in 1823, in which Joshua Barton was killed by Thomas C. Rector, the *Republican* of St. Louis referred to the place as "the island opposite this place."

Even as late as 1831, when Spencer Pettis and Major Thomas Biddle met on the island and at a distance of five feet inflicted mortal wounds from which Pettis died the next day and Major Biddle died two days later, a St. Louis newspaper referred to the dueling ground as "the island, in the Mississippi river, opposite the upper part of town."

In reporting a duel held on the island in 1837, the *Republican* at St. Louis stated that the meeting was held "on Bloody Island." Then too, that same year of 1837, Lieut. Robert E. Lee, who later became the commander of the Confederate armies, reported on his work in improving the St. Louis harbor, and referred frequently to "Bloody Island" by name. These instances bring to mind what Charles Dickens, the English novelist, wrote about "Bloody Island" from observations made during a trip to America in 1842:

We . . . crossed over to the city in the ferry-boat; passing, on the way, a spot called Bloody Island, the duelling-ground of St. Louis, and so

designated in honour of the last fatal combat fought there, which was with pistols, breast to breast. Both combatants fell dead upon the ground; and possibly some rational people may think of them, as of the gloomy madmen on the Monk's Mound, that they were no great loss to the community.

Discounting the historical inaccuracies of Dickens' account, and making due allowance for the license to be granted an imaginative writer of fiction, Dickens was undoubtedly referring to the Pettis-Biddle duel, although neither man fell dead upon the ground, and both were prominent and respected in St. Louis. This is the only duel in the history of St. Louis in which both participants were mortally wounded and died but a short time after the event.

Dickens' statement is valuable, however, because it indicates that the Pettis-Biddle duel was the immediate reason for the naming of the island. Doubtless some St. Louisan told Dickens this story, and since it was only eleven years after the duel, the statement is valuable as an indication of the contemporary belief that the island was named after that doubly fatal meeting of Pettis and Biddle. It is also significant that the island was not called "Bloody Island" in newspaper and other accounts until after this duel in 1831.

EARLY DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Daily newspaper journalism came to St. Louis with the founding in 1835 of the *Daily Evening Herald and Commercial Advertiser*. It is almost certain that this paper was also the first daily newspaper in Missouri, for no record of an earlier daily has been found. The length of life of this first daily, however, was not commensurate with the length of its title, for it was published only six months, suspending on November 14, 1835.

As far as newspaper records show, the daily newspaper field in Missouri was for many years confined to St. Louis. On August 23, 1836, the *Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register* began issuing a daily. The *Bulletin* was followed closely by the *Daily Republican*, which was first issued on September 20, 1836. Another of the pioneer dailies

was the *St. Louis Daily Evening Gazette* which began publication at St. Louis on July 1, 1838, and which is one of the fore-runners of the present *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The *Daily Argus*, a forerunner of the present *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* first appeared on February 16, 1838. Several other dailies were founded at St. Louis about this time.

Outside of St. Louis, the first newspaper to be issued as a daily seems to have been the *Jefferson Inquirer* of Jefferson City. It is known definitely that this newspaper, founded as a weekly in 1838, issued a daily paper during the session of the Missouri General Assembly in 1850-51, beginning Dec. 23, 1850. The *Jefferson Examiner* and the *Inquirer*, both issued dailies during the session of the General Assembly in 1852-53.

Another of the first country dailies of Missouri was the *Hannibal Daily Journal*, edited by Orion Clemens, brother of the famous author, Samuel L. Clemens or Mark Twain. The *Daily Journal* was evidently started on March 14, 1853, as the second number bears the date of March 15, 1853. The original file of this paper, a part of the League Collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri, shows that the paper was published at least until September 21, 1853.

The *Gazette* of St. Joseph, established as a weekly in 1845, began issuing a daily in 1855.

THE "REBEL YELL"

The announcement recently from Charleston, West Virginia, that the so-called "Rebel Yell" of Civil war fame was to be phonographically recorded, has brought to the Society requests asking information as to what this yell was.

Alexander Hunter, writing in the *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville) in May, 1913, gave the following about the yell:

"... It was the very acme of 'glorious war.' Every battery on both sides was in action, and the supreme hour had come.

"Pope had resolved to 'make or break,' and piled in all his reserves in one mighty effort to sweep the field. The Federals advanced, it seemed, with the resistless power of an avalanche, and with their hurrahs, the belching of the cannon, the rattling of the musketry, a commotion was

made that seemed to fill the world with turmoil; but higher, shriller, clearer above all, rose the Rebel yell. I never in my life heard such a fearsome, awful sound. The Federal officers spoke by the cards when they said that in many instances this yell caused their ranks to break before the Rebel charge was made"

Another article, written by the late Col. Keller Anderson, and printed in the same publication in August, 1925, recorded the following:

" . . . I know not how long before came the sounds: 'Forward! Forward! Forward!' I rise on my elbow. Look! Look! There they go, all at breakneck speed, the bayonet at charge. The firing appears to suddenly cease for about five seconds. Then arose that do-or-die expression, that maniacal maelstrom of sound; that penetrating, rasping, shrieking, blood-curdling noise that could be heard for miles on earth, and whose volume reached the heavens—such an expression as never yet came from the throats of sane men, but from men whom the seething blast of an imaginary hell would not check while the sound lasted"

DANIEL WEBSTER VISITED ST. LOUIS

Daniel Webster's visit to St. Louis in June of 1837 was hailed as one of the greatest occasions to take place in that city since the visit of General Lafayette in 1825, because it brought to Missouri a nationally known figure and candidate for the presidency of the United States.

On June 11, 1837, a reception committee met in the Masonic Hall to make arrangements for Webster's arrival. At that time, Henry Clay was expected to visit the city, but his visit did not materialize. The committee planned to meet the steamer "Robert Morris" on which Webster was traveling and escort it into the city. A steamer, "H. L. Kenney," was chartered for this purpose.

When it was learned that Webster's boat had passed the mouth of the Ohio river, the St. Louis committee set out to meet it, which it did at a point just below Jefferson Barracks. The St. Louisans boarded the "Robert Morris," met the Massachusetts statesman, and the boats proceeded on to St. Louis.

The two steamers passed above St. Louis to give Webster a view of the city, and then returned to the Market Street

wharf, where a great crowd had gathered to watch the arrival of the city's guest. Mr. Webster appeared from the boat's cabin, bowed two or three times, and then entered a carriage to be taken to the National Hotel, followed by the crowd.

On June 13, St. Louis celebrated Webster's visit with a great barbecue in a grove on the site of what later became Lucas Market. General William H. Ashley, a noted fur trader, former lieutenant-governor of Missouri and Congressman, presided.

Elihu H. Shepard, in his "History of St. Louis and Missouri," wrote that five thousand persons attended the affair to hear Webster, and continued: ". . . the great orator arose amid the acclamations of thousands and enchain'd their rapturous attention for eighty minutes . . . He was frequently cheered by the enthusiastic crowd, who in their frenzy seemed desirous of bearing him aloft, if not to the skies, at least as high as their hands could carry him, and were only restrained from attempting it by a desire to have him continue the flood from the same fountain."

Not all St. Louisans shared the eulogistic opinions of Shepard, however, for the *Missouri Argus*, a Democratic paper, did its best to counteract the political influence of Webster's visit. For Mr. Webster's oratory, the *Argus* had little respect: ". . . as an orator, as a declaimer to a popular assembly, he is almost below mediocrity, or else at this city he made a most miserable and complete failure."

While he was at St. Louis, Webster also delivered an address to the students and faculty of St. Louis University. Webster, and his family, who accompanied him, spent several days in St. Louis, and on leaving, proceeded to Alton, Illinois.

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

PROPOSALS

by

HARDING¹ & LEWIS

For Publishing by Subscription, an

Engraving of the venerable

Col. DANIEL BOONE.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary for the Publishers to advance any thing for the purpose of enhancing the value of a work that must be duly appreciated by every American. . . . To transmit to the posterity of a country, the actions and features of those who fought and bled in her cause, is a duty too sacred and useful to neglect. While the memory of the heroic deeds of the early adventures is passing away, this work will be means of rescuing from oblivion the features of ONE who took the most active part in sustaining the early settlements of the Western Country; whose fortitude and patriotism is so well worthy of imitation and calculated to call forth the finest feelings of the heart.

CONDITIONS

The size of the print will be 15 inches by 10, Engraved full length from a characteristic and correct painting, and printed on paper of the first quality.

The price to subscribers will be \$3 payable on delivery. Subscriptions will be received by

JAMES O. LEWIS,
Engraver S. Louis.

From the *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, Oct. 11, 1820.

TO TRAVELLERS.

Rates of Ferriage, as established by law, from St. Louis to the oppofite fhore.

For a single Person	\$0 25
Horse.....	0 50
Neat Cattle, each.....	0 50
Calash.....	0 50
Waggon	1 50
Lumber of any kind, } per cwt.	00 12½

St. Louis, Dec. 7, 1808

From the *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, December 7, 1808.

¹This Harding is undoubtedly Chester Harding, who, in 1819, painted the only portrait of Daniel Boone from life. Boone had died just previous to the publication of this advertisement, at the home of his son, Nathan Boone, in St. Charles county, Missouri, on Sept. 26, 1820.

MEDDLERS, MEDDLERS

S. BEHER and S. D. Huston, and all Hog owners in the vicinity of Jackson, are hereby notified, that they must keep their hogs out of my enclosure, or I must kill them.
 Jackson, Dec. 30, 1820.

GEO. MORROW.

MURDER, MURDER

THIS is to inform GEORGE MORROW and other plebians, that I wish to have no correspondence with any supposed h[og]-thief.
 Jackson, Jan. 6, 1821.

SAMUEL BEHER.

From the *Independent Patriot*, Jackson, Jan. 6, 1821.

CALIFORNIA OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE

The coaches of the Overland Mail Company leave the terminus of the Pacific Railroad or [for] San Francisco, every Monday and Thursday, viz: Warsaw, Springfield, Fayetteville, Fort Smith, Fort Belknap, Fort Chadbourne, El Paso, Fort Yuma and Los Angeles.

Scheduled time from St. Louis to San Francisco, twenty-five days.

Tickets may be had at the office of the Company, No. 56 North Main Street.

JOHN BUTTERFIELD,
 President.

S. M. Allen, Agent.

From the *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1861.

DANCING, FENCING
 and the use of the
 BROAD-SWORD.

The Subscriber begs leave to inform the Citizens of St. Louis, that he has opened a Dancing School at Mr. Yostie's, where he hopes to receive the patronage of the public, all the new European dances (particularly the Waltz) taught in the handsomest style.

Lessons in Fencing and the use of the Broad Sword will be given at the same place: every exertion will be made to perfect his scholars in each science. Private lessons in either branch will be given to those who wish it.

For Terms (which shall be moderate,) apply to the subscriber at Mr. Yostie's.

St. Louis, Sep-20

PIERE ST. MARTIN.

From the *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, September 20, 1809.

HEMP-BREAKING MACHINE*

This machine is considered by persons who have tried it, to be one of the best for breaking, cleaning and not wasting Hemp that has ever been invented. It will break in 12 hours with 4 hands and two horses, 2,000 pounds, and while a man would break 200 pounds on a common break, the machine would break 4000 lbs. The machine is not costly and very simple to build. The inventor, Thomas L. Fortune, is willing to insure it to break from twenty to twenty-five hundred pounds per day, if the hands will do their duty. All hemp raisers are requested to try the Machine, and if they dont break and clean more hemp, and waste less than on any other machine, they may have it for nothing. It will save time and money.

Any person wishing a machine or any information in relation to it, will address the undersigned at Liberty, Clay co. Mo.

THOMAS L. FORTUNE

Clay county, June 27, 1845—

From *The Gazette*, St. Joseph, June 27, 1845.

FERRY NOTICE*

The shortest road to Wholf River, the Iowa Sub-Agency &c, by crossing at PARROTT'S FERRY, four miles above St. Joseph. A good lot for the safe keeping of animals immediately at the landing. Rates of Ferrage established by law.

EVAN PARROTT.

St. Joseph, March 27, 1846.

From *The Gazette*, St. Joseph, Apr. 3, 1846.

*Hemp culture was a recognized industry in early Missouri. In 1847, Missouri was ranked second in the United States in quantity of hemp production, with an estimate of 10,000 tons for that year.

*Ferries at and near St. Joseph were of great importance during the gold rush to California in 1849. At St. Joseph alone, in two months and a half, 1508 wagons and approximately 6,032 persons were ferried across the Missouri river.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The *Senate Journal* of the First Extra Session of the First General Assembly of Missouri, which was held in St. Charles, on June 4-29, 1821, is needed by this Society to complete its file of legislative proceedings. It is not positively known that such a volume was printed, although there is a *House Journal* of 144 pages covering the work of the latter body during the same session.

When the *Second* Extra Session of the First General Assembly convened in the fall of 1821 its *Senate Journal* was printed, and to it was added the *Journal of Executive Business* for the three sessions of the first Assembly. On pages 212-13 are given items of executive business transacted by the Senate on the dates June 20 and 26. This volume, however, contains no proceedings of the daily actions of the Senate during the period in question.

Any member of the Society who can furnish any information concerning this missing *Senate Journal* will confer a favor by doing so.

HEARD BENTON SPEAK

BY T. H. B. DUNNEGAN OF BOLIVAR, MISSOURI

I suppose that there are few if any persons now living who ever saw or heard Thomas H. Benton make a speech. On July 10, 1856, he spoke at the little town of Sarcoxie, Missouri. He was then about seventy-five years old. I was a boy about fourteen years old and heard him there. He was running for governor of Missouri. There were three tickets in the field. Trusten Polk was the Anti-Benton Democrat or National Democrat, as they called themselves, and ————— Ewing was the Know-Nothing or American candidate. Polk had spoken the day before at this same place. The speaking was in a grove near the spring on the farm just north of town belonging to General James S. Rains who was the senator from that district in the Missouri General Assembly. He (General Rains) had belonged to the old

Whig party and was then a Know-Nothing or American. The weather was very warm and John M. Richardson of Springfield, Missouri, who was then secretary of state and a candidate for reelection on the ticket with Benton, held an umbrella over the old colonel while he spoke as the tree shade was not very dense. It was said that the colonel ate no dinner on days when he spoke but on this occasion he was supplied with a pitcher of cold buttermilk from the spring-house near by which he frequently sampled during his speech. The old colonel was very vindictive and bitter against the Antis, as he called them, and compared them to the little prairie hawks that sailed around over the barnyards seeking little creatures whom they might devour, and were not like the great American eagle who soars aloft with his eye on the sun. During the speech the colonel said to General Rains, who was in the audience: "Rains, the American party is a great national party and was never guilty of anything lowdown except letting a lot of the Antis join them, for they did not stick even to democracy."

This was the only time I ever saw Colonel Benton, as he died about two years afterwards. It is very evident from my given name that my father was a friend and admirer of the colonel. My father's people migrated from North Carolina to Tennessee about the same time that the Bentons did and came to Missouri in 1830.

This little town of Sarcoxie was the home of Colonel B. F. Massey, who was a candidate for secretary of state on the ticket with Trusten Polk and was elected and then reelected to the same office in 1860 on the ticket with Claiborne F. Jackson.

MISSOURIANS IN COLORADO

The following sketch from The State Historical Society of Missouri was read before the Missouri Society of Colorado, which held its annual banquet in Denver on April 16:

It seems altogether fitting on such an occasion as this, the annual banquet of the Missouri Society of Colorado, to indicate briefly some of the men whose careers have been shared by both Colorado and Missouri. You who are now

citizens of Colorado can be justly proud of the prominent men Missouri has given to your adopted state. And I can assure you that Missouri, too, is proud of the records of these former Missourians.

All of you know, perhaps, that the city where you are meeting tonight was named for James William Denver, once governor of the Territory of Kansas, of which Colorado was a part. Probably fewer of you know, however, that this man was a former resident of Missouri. Denver once taught school in Missouri, later practiced law there and at one time owned and edited the *Platte Argus*, a newspaper published at Platte City, Missouri.

Kit Carson, the famous frontiersman who died in Colorado and whose figure is reproduced on the Pioneer Monument in the Denver Civic Center, is another character shared by Colorado and Missouri with other western states. As an infant, Kit Carson came to the Boone's Lick Country of what is now Central Missouri, where his family settled. Here his early years were spent on a wild frontier. He was apprenticed to a saddler in the town of Franklin in 1825, but ran away the following year to join a caravan to Santa Fe. Biographers of Carson still delight to quote from the files of the *Missouri Intelligencer* the advertisement published by his employer, offering for the return of the boy, a reward of one cent.

Missouri also furnished to Colorado her first territorial governor, William Gilpin, who lived at Denver for many years, and who died here. Not only did Gilpin predict the future greatness of Denver, but he also forecast by an ingenious theory, the greatness of the cities of Kansas City, Missouri, and of Portland, Oregon. In many respects, Gilpin was one of the most outstanding men of his time. Although a native American, he was educated in England. He edited for a while the *St. Louis Argus*, was an officer in the Missouri General Assembly, and was a major of Missouri troops in the Mexican war, before becoming territorial governor of Colorado in 1861.

One of the leaders of the Colorado bar at one time was Bela M. Hughes. He was a native of Kentucky, but engaged

in business at Weston, Platte county, Missouri; was receiver of the United States land office at Plattsburg, and lived for a time at St. Joseph. He removed to Colorado as representative of his cousin, Benjamin Holliday, who was an early stageline operator, and settled at Denver, later becoming a leading lawyer of the state.

Another noted lawyer, a former governor of Missouri, was furnished more recently to Colorado by Missouri. Herbert S. Hadley, who in 1909 became the first Republican governor of Missouri since the reconstruction days, became a professor of law at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1917. Later he returned to Missouri to become chancellor of Washington University at St. Louis, which office he held at his death in 1927.

At least three senators of Colorado, one of whom was also governor, are natives of the State of Missouri. Charles James Hughes, Jr., senator of Colorado from 1909 until his death in 1911, was born at Kingston, Caldwell county, Missouri. He was graduated from Richmond, Missouri, College, and the University of Missouri, and practiced law at Richmond before moving to Denver in 1879. He served as professor in the University of Denver and in Harvard University for many years.

John Franklin Shafroth, who served as congressman, senator and governor of Colorado, was a native of Fayette, Missouri, in which city he also practiced law for a time. Shafroth came to Denver in 1879, and died in this city in 1922, singularly honored by his adopted State.

Rice William Means is the third official I mention here. He is a native of St. Joseph, Missouri, having come to Colorado with his parents when a child. He has not only been senator of Colorado, but he served with credit in the Spanish-American war, the Philippines campaign and the World war. The brief mention of the careers of these men serves to indicate some of the ties which bind Colorado and Missouri in common interest.

It is indeed a pleasure on this occasion, to extend to you former Missourians who compose the Missouri Society of Colorado, these few words of greeting from your old State.

ANNIVERSARIES

The 150th anniversary today of the birth of Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri senator of pre-Civil war days, should be the occasion for some personal stock-taking by the people's elected representatives in this state. . . . Thomas Hart Benton placed his own political fortunes last and the welfare of the nation preeminently first. He was a Democrat, a leader in a pro-slavery party and himself a slave-owner, but he fought secession all through his thirty years in the upper house. When the secessionist majority in his party rose up against him he went down to defeat with flag flying. Holding strange views regarding national finance, he saw clearly where the course of pro-slavery leaders in his own state and in the South was leading the nation. He could not stop the secession tide, but he warned against it and time proved he was right. All the calamities he had predicted from disunion visited Missouri and the South.

Benton's memory has not been honored in his home city of St. Louis, or in the state, as it deserves to be, but compared with his forgotten contemporaries and the men who opposed him, he stands out as one of the great Democrats of all time. Public servants who would like to have their deeds remembered might do well to study his life. . . .—Editorial from the *St. Louis Star*, March 14, 1932.

The 110th anniversary celebration of the Liberty Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is described in the *Liberty Advance*, May 16, 1932.

The 100th anniversary of the Columbia Christian Church was observed at the annual meeting of the Christian Churches of Missouri, held in Columbia, April 27-30, 1932.

The 100th anniversary of the Methodist Church at Paris will be celebrated beginning March 27. The church was organized in March, 1832, with thirty-two members.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 21, 1932.

The 100th anniversary of the Mexico Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is to be observed in May, 1932.—From the *Kansas City Star*, February 27, 1932.

The 80th anniversary of the founding of the First Congregational Church, Wydown Boulevard and University Lane, St. Louis, was celebrated March 13, 1932. The church was organized March 14, 1852, and was the oldest Congregational church west of the Mississippi.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 12, 1932.

The seventy-sixth anniversary of the founding of Macon will occur March 12, 1932.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 4, 1932.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the *Westliche Post*, German language newspaper and oldest daily in St. Louis, was observed by the publication of a special historical edition. The anniversary was also celebrated at a luncheon of the Advertising Club on March 8, 1932.

The 70th anniversary of Union Methodist Church, 3610 Delmar Boulevard, St. Louis, was celebrated March 13, 1932. The first members of this church were required to take the oath of allegiance to the flag.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 12, 1932.

The Belton Christian Church, organized at High Blue in 1867, celebrated its sixty-fifth anniversary May 15, according to the *Kansas City Star*, May 14, 1932.

The sixtieth anniversary of the entry of the Missouri Pacific Railroad into Poplar Bluff was celebrated May 14, 1932. A special industrial and historical edition of the *Poplar Bluff American Republic* was published May 12, 1932.

MEMORIALS

On February 20, 1932, the State of Arkansas dedicated a monument to the memory of DeSoto at Helena, Arkansas.—Editorial in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, February 27, 1932.

The first observance of April 13, Thomas Jefferson's birthday, as a State holiday was marked by the unveiling of a bronze tablet which has been placed on his original monument, now on the campus of the University of Missouri, at Columbia. The monument was presented to the University in 1883, but as it was damaged in the fire of 1892 it has been inappropriately identified until the new bronze inscriptions were placed on it. Congressman Joseph B. Shannon, of Kansas City, and President Walter Williams, of the University, were the principal speakers at the ceremony, the former also having been instrumental in securing funds for the bronze tablet.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 14, 1932.

A bronze memorial tablet located in the Missouri Capitol was unveiled April 9, 1932, in honor of the G. A. R. It was presented by other allied patriotic organizations as a tribute to the G. A. R.—From the Jefferson City *Capital News*, April 10, 1932.

Four memorial tablets were dedicated by the School of Medicine of Washington University on March 15, 1932. Included were a memorial tablet to Dr. Greenfield Sluder, internationally known professor of oto-laryngology at Washington University from 1905 until 1928, and a tablet in memory of Dr. John B. Shapleigh, professor of otology from 1885 until 1922. Another was dedicated to Dr. and Mrs. Frederick Eno Woodruff, who endowed the "Woodruff Eye Clinic." Dr. Woodruff is assistant professor of ophthalmology at Washington University. The fourth tablet was placed in "The Shoemaker Ward" which was endowed by the late Dr. John F. Shoemaker and his wife, Mrs. Ella Stanard Shoe-

maker.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 15, 1932.

The formal dedication of the monument erected to General Nathaniel Lyon in the Camp Jackson Plaza, St. Louis, will occur May 7, 1932.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, May 6, 1932.

NOTES

Do you know that St. Louis has furnished eleven of Missouri's thirty-seven governors. . . . Buchanan county comes second with three executives while there have been two each from Jackson, Saline, Cole and Cooper counties. . . . A new county is certain to enter the charmed circle in 1933.—Written by Robert E. Hollaway in the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, May 1, 1932.

The first piano brought into Missouri now is located in the Arrow Rock Tavern, operated by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The piano made of rosewood, was brought to the state by oxcart in the early days of 1800 by a clergyman named Welch.—From the "Echoes of the Streets" column by F. H. Collier, in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, April 11, 1932.

The discovery of a tooth, identified as that of a prehistoric horse which ranged the western part of the American continent during the latter part of the Ice age, ten to fifty million years ago, was made during the excavation for the \$16,000,000 Illinois Terminal project on Twelfth Boulevard, St. Louis. The tooth was found imbedded in solid rock 30 feet below the surface of the ground.—From the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine*, March, 1932.

Former Congressman Richard Bartholdt, who died March 19, 1932, disposed of \$109,800 in specific bequests in his will, filed March 26 in Probate Court, and provided that whatever of his estate may remain should be used in com-

piling a history of the German element in Missouri. This history, the will states, "should make clear its cultural influence, loyalty to the cause of the Union, political integrity and devotion to true American ideals."—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 27, 1932.

Miss Margaretta Gratz Brown, 65, daughter of ex-Governor B. Gratz Brown, died at her home in St. Louis, March 4, 1932. Miss Brown was an artist. Surviving her are two sisters and one brother.—From the *St. Louis Star*, March 5, 1932.

Frank Smith, 86, one of the last of Quantrill's band who participated in the raid on Lawrence, Kansas, died at his home in Blue Springs, Missouri, March 3, 1932.—From the *Blue Springs Herald*, March 11, 1932.

Last September about 20,000 Missourians who live in California held their annual picnic at Long Beach. An address was given by Charles M. Street, formerly of St. Joseph, in which he linked California and Missouri by the Pony Express, emigration and freight routes leading westward from St. Joseph, and paid high tribute to many outstanding citizens of his native city.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, September 26, 1931.

The Stokely or Wight house, a Wayne county landmark more than 115 years old, has been razed, according to the *Greenville Sun* of March 17, 1932.

France's original record of title to Louisiana has been melted into bullets and used to kill wild ducks by an illiterate hunter residing near the mouth of the Mississippi river. Destruction of the great lead plaque erected on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico in 1682 by La Salle, was disclosed by Frank W. Waddill, civil engineer of New Orleans. He is preparing a report of the vandalism to be made to the Louisiana Historical Society April 9, at exercises commemorating the 250th anniversary of La Salle claiming Louisiana for

France.—Associated Press story in the Kansas City *Times*, April 9, 1932.

Old Sweden will never be quite the same now that Tom Sawyer has gone there to play among its lakes and fjords. That he arrived by means of a radio series in dramatized translation makes no difference. To the Swedish families which sat in the hillside cottage kitchens drinking coffee from the always steaming pot and listening-in on the broadcast from Stockholm, the Missouri juvenile was as real, so we are told, as Gosta Berling, and that was reality itself. Nor must it have been any less an adventure for Tom than for his eager Scandinavian hosts, large and small. The lively boy who went rafting on the Mississippi, climbed the bluffs and searched their caves for hidden treasure would have had a glorious time putting in and out of the points along the Kattegat, rounding the headlands south of Malmo, skiing through the timber to the north, camping at night by a fire of evergreen boughs. The Lake of the Ozarks and Lake Vaner, Pike County and Ostersund are brought closer together by the universality of Mark Twain's famous boy.—Editorial in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 4, 1932.

Pen sketches by the "Stroller" of scenes in and around the boyhood home of Jesse James, at Kearney, Missouri, appear in the Kansas City *Star*, May 15, 1932. Historic scenes in Arrow Rock are sketched in the issue of March 31, 1932, and old landmarks of North Kansas City in the *Star* of March 28, 1932.

John Bidwell, who lived in Missouri a few years, was the organizer and leader of the first emigrant train to California, according to Franklin F. Korell, writing in the *National Republic*. Much of the article is reprinted in the Kansas City *Times*, March 3, 1932.

"The Mound City's Last Mound," an article by Tyrrel Williams in the St. Louis *Review* is reprinted in part in the St. Louis *Star*, April 29, 1932. It describes the "sugar loaf"

mound in south St. Louis. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of March 30, 1932, has a similar article.

An account of the disastrous sinking of the steamboat Saluda at Lexington, April 9, 1852, is contained in a diary of Dr. Joseph R. Bradway, who made the trip to California by way of Lexington just three days after the explosion. His journal records many incidents of the overland trip from St. Joseph to Tehma, California, and following his recent death it was presented to the Society of California Pioneers.—From the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News*, May 2, 1932.

A long article on the hardships and adventures of Pony Express riders appears in the Kansas City *Star*, April 4, 1932.

A descriptive sketch of "Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall" in the State Capitol, by Dr. A. C. Burrill, appears in the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine*, March, 1932.

Lengthy excerpts from the diary of Francis B. White, kept during an overland journey from St. Joseph to Oregon in 1852, are printed in the St. Joseph *Gazette*, of April 10, 1932.

The site of old Fort Davidson, in Iron county, is pictured and described in the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine*, of March, 1932.

A historical sketch of Allee Cemetery, near Clarksburg, Moniteau county, which has been in use since about 1824, was reprinted from the Tipton *Times*, by the Boonville *Daily News*, March 18, 1932.

The architectural charm and variety of old St. Louis are described by Arthur C. Haskins in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 18, 1932.

The official flag of the City of St. Louis, which was adopted in 1916, is described in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of April 24, 1932. When the flag was designed it was emblematical of the fact that the city ranked fourth in population in the United States.

An account of the career of James Hawkins Peck, first United States District Judge in Missouri, appears in the St. Louis *Star*, April 30, 1932, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, of May 1, 1932.

A series of articles on historic sites and buildings in and near St. Louis, by Harry T. Brundidge, appears in the St. Louis *Star*, beginning May 2, 1932, with a sketch of Fort Bellefontaine.

A series of eight articles on Missouri State Parks begins in the Kansas City *Star* of May 8, 1932, with a description of Round Spring State Park.

Letters from the personal correspondence of the late William Rockhill Nelson are printed in the Kansas City *Star*, May 8, 1932.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Because, in the course of an intensely busy life, Charles Nagel found little time to write or speak for anything except immediate purposes, his recently published speeches and writings will prove valuable as an index to contemporary thought and events for the first quarter or more of this century. One of the foremost among modern Missourians, Charles Nagel of St. Louis has also attained national prominence. The new work is entitled "Charles Nagel, Speeches and Writings, 1900-1928," and is edited by Otto Heller, dean of the graduate school, Washington University. (New York: London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1931; 2 volumes.)

Born in Texas of German parents, Charles Nagel, since his early school days, has been identified with St. Louis.

He graduated from the St. Louis Law School, studied in Germany, and on his return, took up the practice of civil law in St. Louis, pursuing a career interrupted only by four years as Secretary of Commerce in the cabinet of President Taft. At the same time he practiced law, Mr. Nagel also found time to serve in the Missouri General Assembly and as president of the Council of St. Louis. He has evinced an active interest in education, being a lecturer in the St. Louis Law School and the Law School of Washington University for over 25 years, and for a like term, trustee of Washington University. He has also been chairman of the Board of Trustees of Lincoln University at Jefferson City.

The present work is prefaced with an interpretative biographical sketch of Charles Nagel by Charles P. Williams. The two volumes are divided into three parts for each volume, the first including speeches and writings on Government and Society, The Processes of Government, and The Government and Business. The second volume includes, On Eminent Americans, being sketches of William Howard Taft, Abraham Lincoln, and Carl Schurz; the World War and After, and Education.

The publication of these volumes was made possible by some of Mr. Nagel's friends as an expression of regard and admiration on his attaining the age of 82. Dean Heller has commendably edited the work. These volumes not only form a substantial contribution to the study of the currents of recent American life, but they reveal, further, a man of keen intelligence who has been alive to the world about him.

To a vast knowledge of the Ozark region and its people, Vance Randolph has added a wealth of sympathetic understanding which should go far in making his recent book, "The Ozarks, An American Survival of Primitive Society," an outstanding contribution to the study of American peoples. It is fortunate for the Ozarker, that a man such as Mr. Randolph was the first author to write an adequate and comprehensive work on the people of the Ozark mountains. The book was published by The Vanguard Press, New York, in 1931.

Never before the publication of Mr. Randolph's book had the Ozark region and its people been treated in such exhaustive perspective as is done in this work. Himself a "furriner" to the Ozarks, Mr. Randolph has spent over ten years in active collection of material which he divulges in this surprising and entertaining, if not at some times astounding, book. Taking us back into the hills off the beaten paths of travel, he shows us the Ozarker of former times, a type of strong individualism now rapidly retreating before a barrage of improved highways, motor cars, radios and formal education. Mr. Randolph has freely used in the present work, materials which he had previously collected and published in various journals in more academic style; his present book, however, adds a wealth of new material to that which the author had already published, and presents his previous work in a somewhat more popular manner.

In his first chapter, on "Old Trails and Campfires," the author gives a general background of the people and the region about which he is writing. All this, of course, is a matter which requires extensive research, and much remains to be done. Particularly would a study of the origins of the Ozark people be of value. The main worth of this book, however, is to record the life and conditions obtaining in some parts of the Ozarks today, and in the generations just preceding the present.

Two chapters give a good insight into the home and social life of the Ozarker; the reader cannot help but appreciate the careful and exhaustive work that was necessary in order to obtain this valuable information. A chapter on the Ozark dialect is particularly notable because the author takes the position, contrary to some scholars, that here in the Ozarks is at least one American dialect. The author cites many words in common use in the Ozarks that are entirely foreign to the vocabulary of present-day usage, and he speaks with some authority on this subject, for the reviewer knows of at least three formidable word-lists which Mr. Randolph has compiled during his researches.

A chapter on signs and superstitions is another mine of folklore information. The chapter on "The Passing of the

"Play-Party" contains much material which is not exclusive to the Ozarks, but which in some cases is modified by local conditions. Perhaps one of the outstanding features of the whole book is the extensive collection of rare ballads in the chapter on "Ozark Folk-Songs". These ballads, many of them barely saved from oblivion, are doubtless among the most difficult of all data to collect. Vance Randolph tells how he has been able to obtain the songs of his collection.

Other sections of the book deal with the arts of moonshiners, hunting and marksmanship, native fishing, and a chapter on "Fools' Gold", the gullibility of some Ozarkers for hidden treasure. The last chapter, "The Coming of the 'Furriners'", is not without a bit of sadness, recording as it does the passing of old customs as the Ozarks change on contact with the outer world.

Throughout the entire work, the author has managed to give the reader an indication of the viewpoint of the Ozarker; his fierce individualism, his pride, his shrewdness, and also his failings. Some parts of the book will come as a distinct shock to the person who does not know the Ozarks; nearly all of it is written with considerable frankness. But, finally, the book should do much toward bringing about a better understanding of the Ozarker as an individual, and a stronger realization of the problems that confront him.

Some delightful recollections of lawyers in Southeast and Southwest Missouri are contained in the "Autobiography, Reminiscences and Recollections of Joseph D. Perkins" (Carthage, 1932) a small volume published recently.

A native of St. Francois county, Missouri, being born there in 1851, Judge Perkins gives some interesting stories of the early events and people of southeastern Missouri. He gives in this book a brief sketch of the Perkins family, and his maternal side, the Horn family. This is followed by sketches of his school days, his community in the Civil war, and the lawyers and judges of Southeast Missouri.

Perkins was admitted to the bar at Ste. Genevieve in November, 1877, and began practicing at Fredericktown in Madison county, where he stayed for over five years. He

was elected prosecuting attorney of the county in 1878 and was re-elected.

In 1883 he left Fredericktown, and that same year located at Carthage in Jasper county. Perkins has ever since then been actively connected with the bench and bar of Southwest Missouri. He has been city attorney of Carthage, commissioner of the United States Circuit Court, and for twenty years judge of the circuit court. He retired from the circuit bench at the close of 1922 and in 1928 retired fully from business and law. His reminiscences of the bar in Southwest Missouri, particularly, should be of interest and value to that part of Missouri. Since his retirement, Judge Perkins has spent considerable time traveling.

The Populist movement, which exerted such profound influences on the political and economic life of the United States during, roughly, the last quarter of the past century, finds its first adequate history in "The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party" by John D. Hicks. (The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1931.)

Dr. Hicks presents a work that is not only exhaustive and reliable, but intensely interesting. He has interesting material to work with, and has made the most of his opportunity. The very bases of American political parties were shaken by the Populist movement which reached its high tide in the campaign of 1896. In his chapter on "The Populist Contribution," Dr. Hicks shows that the supposedly dangerous and radical proposals of the Populists are now in practice and considered commonplace. It is significant that the radical of today, meeting problems somewhat similar to those of the Populist, considers the Populist program inadequate. Much material is presented that has scarcely if at all, been used before.

Missouri, unlike some other western states, did not take one of the leading parts in the Populist movement. She was close enough to the scenes of greatest action, however, to be considerably influenced, and some of the Populist actions took place within her borders—for instance, the St.

Louis meeting in 1889 at which the famous subtreasury plan was proposed, and the convention at St. Louis in 1896.

The book contains a valuable bibliography and a good index, and without doubt is an outstanding contribution to recent United States history.

PERSONALS

RICHARD BARTHOLDT: Born in Schleiz, Germany, November 2, 1855; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 19, 1932. He came to the United States at the age of sixteen, and learned the printer's trade in New York. He worked there until 1875 when he moved to St. Louis and worked on the *Courier* and the *Anzeiger*. Returning to New York he was naturalized there in 1877. Next he went to Germany and studied law, then came to the United States again and worked on German newspapers in Brooklyn and New York. In December, 1884, he came to St. Louis to take charge of the *Tribune*. In 1888 he ran for the Republican nomination for Congress from the tenth district, but was defeated, then served on the board of education. In 1892 he was elected representative and served in Congress for twenty-two years thereafter. In recent years he wrote his autobiography, *From Steerage to Congress*.

ROBERT A. BROWN: Born November 23, 1863; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, March 25, 1932. He was educated in the Baptist College, Peirce City, and the University of Missouri. Being admitted to the bar in 1889 he began practice in St. Joseph, and since 1904 had many corporations among his clients. He was in partnership with the late Judge W. K. Amick and during 1911-16 with Judge Lucien J. Eastin. Since the latter date he had been in partnership with his two sons and R. L. Douglas.

ENOCH HERBERT CROWDER: Born in Edinburg, Missouri, April 11, 1859; died in Washington, D. C., May 7, 1932. He was graduated from West Point in 1881, and assigned a post on the Texas-Mexico boundary, later being transferred to the University of Missouri as commandant of the military training department, where he studied law

and received the degree of LL. B. Then he returned to field work in New Mexico and the Dakotas. About 1891, he became acting judge advocate of the Department of the Platte, at Omaha, then successively, judge advocate of the Fourth Army Corps, at Mobile, of the Eighth Army Corps at San Francisco, and of the Philippines. For a time he was associate justice of the Supreme Court there. In 1904 he was detached to serve as observer for the United States with the Japanese forces in the Russo-Japanese war. In 1906 he became chief of staff of the Atlantic division, being transferred to Cuba where he supervised the department of state and justice under the provisional government. He, with an advisory commission, drafted statutes setting up Cuba's executive departments, her judiciary system and the laws for provincial government. After three years he returned to the office of judge advocate general, being made chief of the department in 1911, a position which he held until 1923 when he retired to become ambassador to Cuba. He resigned four years later because of ill health. During the World War he was made provost marshal general, having direct supervision of the selective service system. At the expiration of his long military service he opened a law office in Chicago, continuing practice until ill health caused his retirement. He was the recipient of many honorary degrees, military and civil honors. Burial was in the National Cemetery at Arlington.

ALFRED DAVAULT: Born near New Florence, Missouri, April 14, 1842; died near New Florence, Missouri, March 17, 1932. He served as sheriff of Montgomery county and was also a member of the 36th, 37th, and 39th general assemblies of Missouri, in 1891, 1893 and 1897, respectively.

WILLIAM A. KELSOE: Born in Greenville, Illinois; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 9, 1932, at the age of 81. He was educated in McKendree College, in Illinois, and Heidelberg University, in Germany. Returning to St. Louis in 1874 he worked successively on the *Dispatch*, the *Morning Times*, the *Times-Journal*, and the *Missouri Republican*. In 1895 he became assistant city editor of the *Globe-Democrat*,

serving until the World's Fair in 1904 when he was in charge of the press bureau. Afterward he returned to the *Globe-Democrat*, then in 1907 went to the *Times*, then to the *Post-Dispatch* where he served as head of the reference department and finally as exchange editor. He was one of the founders of the Ethical Society of St. Louis, and was a member of fraternal and psychical research organizations. He was twice elected to the board of trustees of McKendree College. He was author of *The St. Louis Reference Record*.

JOHN P. McNICHOLS: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1875; died in Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 26, 1932. He was graduated from St. Louis University with the degrees of M. A. and Ph.D. Later he received the degree of Doctor of Laws at St. Xavier University in Cincinnati, and became an instructor there in 1898. In 1906 he was ordained to the priesthood and continued his teaching. From 1913 to 1915 he was on the faculty of Campion College, Prairie du Chien, Wis., going next to Marquette University, at Milwaukee, where he was dean from 1919 until 1921. Then he became president of the University of Detroit. He was author of textbooks on English.

ARTHUR W. NELSON: Born in Cooper county, Missouri, January 21, 1878; died at the Lake of the Ozarks, March 13, 1932. He was reared in Kansas City, where he received his early schooling. He was graduated from Wentworth Military Academy in 1897, from the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn., in 1900 with the degrees of M. D., A. B. and Ph. G. Dr. Nelson served his internship in the Woman's Hospital in New York City and was there until 1902 when he returned to Cooper county to engage in farming. In 1903 he was elected president of the Bank of Bunceton, and for the past sixteen years had been connected with the Boonville National Bank, for five years as president. He was widely known as a breeder of fine livestock, particularly of Short-horn cattle. He was the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1924, and in that year entertained the presidential candidate, John W. Davis, at his Cooper county home.

LOUIS J. RINGE: Born in St. Charles, Missouri, December 21, 1869; died in St. Charles, Missouri, April 8, 1932. He engaged in the hardware business in St. Charles, and had served his county as representative in the 54th, 55th, and 56th general assemblies.

CHALMERS P. WOODRUFF: Born in Youngstown, Ohio, April 19, 1843; died in St. Louis, Missouri, May 5, 1932. He served in the Union army throughout the Civil War, afterwards practiced medicine in Kansas City and St. Louis. In May, 1930, he was elected state commander of the Missouri G. A. R., a position he held for one year.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

ECONOMIC ADVICE IN 1821

Coffee a Luxury

From the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 9, 1821.

To the citizens of Boon's Lick: The importance of the subject must plead my apology for addressing you; and it is one of vital consequence, as relates to our future pecuniary prosperity. The present state of affairs, I conceive, imperiously demands our adopting some measures that will result in the removal of our pecuniary embarrassments, and the alleviation of our distresses. The proposition for establishing a bank, if carried into effect, will prove of the most ruinous and destructive result, from these plain and obvious reasons: It will revive the spirit of purchasing foreign articles, which necessity is about compelling us to relinquish; it will give to our property a nominal value, far above its intrinsic worth, and will sink us still deeper in the vale of oppression. The balance of trade is so excessively and decidedly against us, that before the period of five years elapses, we will be in debt to individuals and institutions, of other states on the most moderate calculation, \$250,000; and what is it for? Why, mere trash, foreign trumperies and gewgaws, which are purchased, worn out, and forgotten before that time expires—and thus goes your 250,000 dollars. True, you may have paid the merchant, and he the importer, in Missouri paper, but recollect your state is pledged for its redemption, and how is it to be done? Taxes will be the consequence, and how are you to bear them? It will be impossible; oppression and excessive embarrassment will be the inevitable result. No, gentlemen, you must preserve yourselves from this oppression by economy. Encourage domestic productions, quit the use of foreign liquors, luxuries, and wearing apparel; always give a higher price for a domestic article, of the same quality, than for a foreign one—thus you encourage your own manufacturers, your cash is still in the country, and it will wear superior to a foreign make. You may state, we are compelled to purchase imported goods, we have no domestic article that can be worn with decency: I say, you never will have so long as you entertain such sentiments; but as it respects decency, it's all fudge! It is fashion that regulates those feelings. Collect yourselves together, adopt economical resolutions, determine to wear nothing but what the labour of our country will produce. If you should put it in practice by commencing on tow cloth; if you would persevere in those determinations, you will find many ready and willing to invest their capital and time in manufacturing establishments.

As to luxuries, it is true we are not very extravagant, but moderate as we are, an enormous amount is unnecessarily expended; to select the

single article of coffee, and give you an idea of the loss we annually sustain, and that without deriving any substantial benefit, I will show you the following calculation, which is far from being exaggerated, indeed I am convinced the fact would authorise a greater one: We will suppose, for instance, there are 1000 families living above Cote Sans Dessein, who are in the habit of using coffee, and to make a very moderate calculation, we presume they consume on an average, per week, one pound each, although there are many who use that much per day, and rating the coffee at 50 cents, will amount, per week to \$500, and the immense sum of \$26,000 per annum! Suppose but 500 families, there will still be a great sum, in cash, forever lost. You may observe, I have but a few years to live, and am determined to enjoy myself with some of its luxuries; and, you may add, even if it is at the expense of the ruin of my country. How much better, gentlemen, will it be to deprive ourselves of those luxuries, and enjoy independence, than to enjoy them, and be deprived of that inestimable character! I am a resident of your country, and always contemplate to remain one; and, how extremely gratifying would it be to observe you pursuing a course which would terminate in independence and the improvement of our country.

I have thus hastily thrown a few ideas together, and stated some matters of fact. Although not embellished with the flowers of rhetoric, or flights of eloquence, I hope you will receive them as the genuine effusions of one who consults your interest.

J.

THE "PRESSURE" OF 1837

Reprinted from the Palmyra *Courier* by the St. Louis, *Missouri Argus*, May 26, 1837.

One of the severest pressures that has ever been experienced in the United States is now felt, by the merchants of the South and East. This pressure is equally severe in France and England.

The people of this State are not suffering from the pressure because that they have never entered into that system of credit which is so common in the east and south—here the people think that their property is equal to money, and if they part with one, they must have the other—and they are right. The credit system is always involving a community in difficulties, the failure of one man ever injures many. The grand American system of commercial credit, manufacturing credit, and agricultural credit, has become too mighty for the energies of the people who sustain it. It will tumble to pieces. A man who fails has always some excuse ready for his creditors—he has been robbed—he has lost by the rascality of others—when in reality he has failed by his own imprudence, extravagance or rascality. At this time all men who break, will lay the blame upon General Jackson and thousands and thousands of debtors who have defrauded—robbed their creditors of hundreds of millions under the guise of commercial credit, will cover their rascality by attributing their losses

to the removal of the deposits, the treasury circular, and the derangement of the currency. The failure of the Josephs in New York was for near fifteen millions of dollars, of this they will not be able to pay three millions; what has become of the twelve millions of dollars which they have abstracted from their creditors? Part of it has been spent in princely living at the expense of the lower classes who looked up to those princely bankers, as the very fountains of wealth, while in fact, they have undoubtedly never been worth a dollar. They have stood as long as they could run in debt, and borrow money from every quarter, but the instant people refuse to lend they have to stop borrowing, and stop payment.

The United States, the greatest grain growing country on earth, and where more people are devoted to agriculture than any other, had to import the value of five millions in grain for the support of the people. This would have been a few years since, carrying "coals to New Castle." Whenever America begins to import grain to eat, you may always look out for breakers. Agriculture is the foundation of our prosperity, the true basis of every pursuit. When the farmer neglects his farm, turns his attention to trading horses, etc., and buy his grain and hay, there will be trouble at his camp directly, and General Jackson will be the means of breaking him up! General Jackson must foot all the bills and make up all the deficiencies—none to blame but him. But the creditors will perhaps consider it poor pay.

BANKING AND CREDIT IN 1837

From the St. Louis, *Missouri Argus*, April 28, 1837.

The times are full of caution to those who are to direct the affairs of the State Bank now soon to be put in operation. The merchants of St. Louis, for many years past, have not discovered such strong symptoms of pecuniary embarrassments—if the newspapers are allowed to be a criterion to judge from—as they do at the present moment; and it is by no means probable that the papers *over* rate the pressure; rather might it be expected that the true state of the case is *under* rated. The great rejoicing at the news just received of the success of the agent who was dispatched east to procure funds to start the Bank with, is proof, if proof was needed, that the credit of many large dealers of this place is in great danger; and that the State Bank is looked to as the only thing that can snatch them from commercial ruin. Now, what is the duty of the Directors under these circumstances? Is it to lend the money of the people (and nearly all the funds that will be at the disposal of the Bank will belong to the people) to men who have proven themselves not entitled to credit? Certainly not. No: prudent, cautious dealers are the men who should be accommodated, and these with but small amounts. The more able a man is to pay his debts, and the more punctual he is in doing it, the better he is entitled to credit. A Bank should never credit a man whom the merchants are suspicious of. Those who have *overtraded* are entitled to the natural reward of their folly. No doubt but that those who are hardest pressed will be most clamorous for loans of money—just in pro-

portion to their necessities for money will be the importunities of the insolvent to get it; and just in an adverse proportion should the Directors accommodate them. There will, doubtless, be some prudent, cautious dealers who are very able to pay all their debts, that will endorse the paper of hard pressed men, and urge the propriety of discounting it for the purpose of enabling the drawer to pay the endorser the debts he owes him. Though the Bank, in all such cases, might be secured against loss, yet the object of the institution would not be fulfilled in so disposing of its funds.

It should be recollect that the whole responsibility of a maladministration of the Bank falls on the *Directors*. *Stockholders* divide none of the responsibility—the former *are*, and the latter *are not*, liable, in their individual property, to make good any loss that may be sustained in consequence of bad management of its affairs. The interest of the *Directors*, as well as their duty, should induce them to act very cautiously. The large stockholders being in no danger themselves may advise, and even urge, the propriety of doing a big business for the double purpose of having large discounts made to them, and to increase the dividends upon stock. Large dividends are desirable, but *certain* dividends are more desirable. The Bank was not created as a speculating institution; nor to sustain rash speculators and overtraders; nor yet to flood the country with notes in order to procure funds with which to indulge such men in their extravagant schemes. There is no surer way to aggravate the existing evils among our commercial men than to issue large quantities of paper for circulation. Our issues of paper money is the principal cause of the present "*pressure upon the money market*" and unless "the hair of the same dog is good for the bite" I know of no principle that can justify the issuing of many notes.

I am persuaded that the gentlemen who constitute the Board of Directors will pardon the writer for throwing out these general remarks. . . .

1. Let no note of less denomination than twenty dollars be issued.
2. Let the issues never exceed three times the amount of specie on hand, independent of the deposits. And
3. Let no one man or "house" be accommodated with a larger discount than ten thousand dollars.

The first suggestion is in full accordance with the policy of General Jackson's and Mr. Van Buren's administrations. The second is the practice of the English Banks; and these, we know, have maintained their solvency better than the Banks in the United States have generally done. And unless the third suggestion be adopted as a rule, not half of those who are entitled to accommodation can receive any. If a few men be permitted to monopolize the funds of the Bank, the whole object of its creation will be frustrated. Ten thousand dollars may not be the proper sum to establish as the maximum, but a sum should be fixed, and adhered to, that will, in all probability, accommodate the largest number of persons who are entitled to accommodations, and who will be likely to claim the privilege. . . . Rotation is as salutary a rule to adopt in bank affairs, as it is in political affairs; and it is to be hoped that the Direc-

tors will adopt it, and not suffer a few men to monopolize all the advantages to be derived from the Bank.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

THE "PRESSURES" OF 1819—1825—1833—1837.

From the St. Louis, *Missouri Argus*, May 19, 1837.

..... It is now vociferated by the Bank whigs that the Treasury Order has made the distress of 1837, and that nothing can relieve the distress but the re-charter of the Bank of the United States.

The article (quoted below) from the North Carolina *Journal* shows that we have had *four* of these pressures during the existence of that Bank, and that, so far from preventing, it has been the main cause of each and every one of them.

That Bank was chartered in 1816, and by its expansions it made the disastrous convulsions and destruction of banks and property in 1819.

By its connexions with the Bank of England it involved commerce in the fate of the English banks in 1825, when another distress and pressure came on.

In 1833 it made the panic and pressure on purpose to scourge the country into submission, and to compel the restoration of the depositories [sic] and the renewal of its charter.

The pressure of 1837 is the fruit of reckless adventure and gambling adventure hatched into existence by the enormous expansions of the loans and the circulation of that Bank in 1835.

Facts prove that the Bank [of the] United States is the main cause of the *four* pressures that we have had since she was chartered; but to those who vociferate for her re-establishment as a means of preventing these pressures, it is sufficient to recall the memory of the fact, that we have had *four* of these pressures during her existence.

UNKNOWN BINGHAM PAINTINGS

From the Boonville *Observer*, Oct. 15, 1844.

The 10th and 11th days of October, 1844, were days long to be remembered by the gallant Whigs of Missouri and will be referred to in future as the days on which assembled in our city the most glorious convention that our State has ever witnessed. The procession. then the immense delegation from Howard, bearing a most splendid banner, on one side of which our noble champion is represented advocating the "American System." "All the great interests" of America are here represented. On one hand is a fortress with our National Flag waving above it; on the other, and to the rearward is the ocean, crowded with shipping, and farther in the front is a farmer with his plough, a railroad, a number of dingy manufacturing establishments, the capitol and other national buildings, while Mr. Clay, with his hands extended towards them, exclaims in his own impressive manner, "All these great interests are confided to the protection and care of government!" The portrait

of Mr. Clay as well as the entire picture, is an admirable specimen of painting, and both as to design and execution is highly creditable to the artist. On the reverse side of the banner is represented a prairie, in its uncultivated state, with a herd of buffalo roving across it.

And finally came the Ashland Club—composed of the young men of Boonville, and the Boonville Juvenile Clay Club. The Ashland Club bore decidedly the most beautiful banner we have ever seen. On one side was represented the plain, unostentatious, but noble farmer of Ashland on his farm; on the reverse side is an Eagle perched high on a firm, immovable rock. The banner is without letters—save the name of the club—the devices alone being sufficiently significant. The Juvenile Club also bore a most beautiful banner; on one side of which is represented a mill boy riding merrily through the slashes of Hanover to mill; on the reverse side is a little fellow carving the name of Henry Clay. A mere description of the devices on these banners, however, conveys no idea of their real beauty. They, as also the Howard banner, were painted by Mr. Bingham, a noble young artist of this city.

(Editor's note: The article as a whole describes the banners carried by the several county and city delegations which attended this convention.)

REMAINS OF SPANISH MINING EXPEDITION

Reprinted from the Warsaw, *Osage Yeoman*, by the Columbia, *Missouri Statesman*, November 8, 1844.

A party of gentlemen one day this week, discovered on an island in the Osage about ten miles above this place, two or three old gun barrels, lying upon or near the surface of the ground. Upon digging they found within three feet, about forty gun barrels, some sixty hoes, and thirty or forty axes, and some few gun locks, together with other implements supposed to be used for mining, all nearly eaten up with rust.

It is said that about forty years ago a company of Spaniards ascended the Osage river for the purpose of mining and trading—that they were interrupted by a party of Indians and compelled to retreat after hastily burying their implements, stores, and whatever of value they had with them—that they were pursued, and most of the company killed. The leader of the expedition escaped and afterwards died or was killed at Loutre Island, leaving among his papers a journal of his mining expedition on the Osage, and this recent discovery is supposed to be stores buried on the occasion referred to. There is something said about three sacks made of deer's hides, filled with dollars, being buried at the same time and place, but to say nothing of the improbability of so large a sum of money being carried upon such an expedition, we suppose the money, like that of the famous old buccaneer, Blackbeard, has sunk so deep by this time, it would require some wizard spell to regain it. However the money was not found among the gun barrels.

JEFFERSON CITY IN 1836

Reprinted from the Jefferson City, *Jeffersonian*, by the St. Louis, *Missouri Argus*, Sept. 16, 1836.

The improvement of this place the present season is astonishing—nearly fifty per cent will be added in one year, and could lumber and mechanics have been procured it would have been still much greater. We have a steam sawmill which drives two saws and can saw from 3,000 to 6,000 feet of lumber in 12 hours, and yet the place is not near supplied with lumber. Many of the buildings erected and now building this summer would do no discredit to any place—and among them is a court house believed to be the finest and the best in the state, not even excepting the new one in St. Louis; it is of hammered rock, and nearly 50 per cent larger than the present state house. Rival towns who had hopes of getting the seat of government, have never done justice to the City of Jefferson; but it is hoped that as that question is now forever put to rest, better feeling and one more becoming neighbors and friends (for the citizens of this place do most heartily wish success and prosperity to their neighbors) will prevail.

This city has many advantages that few places can boast of. It is immediately on the bank of the Missouri river, and a rock-bound shore; has seven never-failing springs, and many fine wells in the inhabited part; as fine timber and in as great abundance as any part of the world. Its stone quarries have always been considered equal to any in America, and right at hand. The health of this place has never been excelled by any county of the south side of the Missouri. The whole county is remarkable for good health, good water, and good timber, and large quantities of good land, and has the Osage, a beautiful river, navigable 450 miles, approaching within 6½ miles of the city, and two other streams navigable some 50 miles. And on the north side a country which is not surpassed in fertility and beauty by any part of the state. The relative increase of population in Cole county, and other parts of the state can be seen by the apportionment of representatives at the last session of the General Assembly and the vote at the late elections. The apportionment which was according to the population at that time was St. Louis 6, Boone and Howard 4 each, and Cole 2 representatives—now St. Louis gives 1800, Boone 1200, and Cole 900.

How is it possible that the seat of government (permanently established by the constitution) of the largest and perhaps in point of soil, climate and navigation, the best state in the Union, and possessing all the advantages above enumerated, should not prosper? *The city of Jefferson is destined to be one of the greatest cities of the great west.*

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF NEW MADRID COUNTY IN 1822

Excerpts from a letter written by a gentleman in New Madrid county to the Editor of the St. Louis *Enquirer*, published June 24, 1822.

..... The cotton of this county (of which a small boat load was taken last year to New Orleans) sells at 2½ cents per pound more than

the cotton of Alabama and Tennessee. Each laborer in a cotton field may cultivate the same extent of ground that he could if it were in corn, and every acre produces from 12 to 14 hundredweight of cotton, which sells, crude from the ground, at 4 dollars a hundred, making about 52 dollars for each acre of ground the farmer cultivates, and realizing every year to the owner of negroes, almost the cash value of as many of them as he employs in the cultivation of this staple.

The average yield of corn is 50 or 55 bushels to the acre, and land in this county has been known to produce 96 bushels, though cultivated with very little of the attention and care usually bestowed upon lands in the older states. Wheat, oats and potatoes grow very abundantly.

Considerable quantities of rice have also been raised here, and I am told that it is almost a certain crop. The cultivation of the lowland rice has never yet been attempted, but the highland rice produces very well throughout the county; the produce of a quarter of an acre being sufficient for the consumption of a very large family.....

PLEA FOR IMPROVEMENT OF WHITE RIVER IN 1844

Reprinted from the Springfield *Advertiser* by the Jefferson City, *Jefferson Inquirer*, November 7, 1844.

The importance of the improvement of the White river is felt by every person in the southwest. We think it nothing more than right that the Legislature should appropriate a portion of the proceeds of the 500,000 acres of land granted to this State by the General Government towards its improvement. It will take but a small amount of funds, in comparison to the great advantage to the people of the southwest, to make it a navigable stream. Gentlemen well acquainted with the river have informed us that \$40,000 or \$50,000 would make it navigable for steamboats the greater part of the year. We are now compelled to carry our produce to Booneville or Jefferson, 160 miles, to find a market; and if the Osage is made navigable we will still have eighty miles to go, and a large portion of the southwest go farther. But if we succeed in improving White river, it will afford an outlet for the surplus produce of the southwest much nearer and better than the Osage; better, because White river never freezes so as to prevent the passage of boats, and our produce can be taken off at any time during the winter, thus ensuring a sale by being ahead of the produce taken from Illinois, Iowa and Upper Missouri. Friends of the measure should take an active part in circulating petitions asking for an appropriation from the next Legislature for that purpose. White river can be made navigable and we see no reason why it should not be.

No state in the Union we believe has as many natural advantages as Missouri, and when these advantages are improved she is bound to become one of the richest as well as one of the most densely populated states in the Union. The state has now the means, and we think it advisable for her to appropriate a small sum towards the improvement of each of her rivers. We only ask a small appropriation for White river. We do not

ask (like our neighbors of the Osage convention held at Warsaw last spring) the whole of the proceeds of the 500,000 acres of land—a small portion will answer our purpose.

DIALECT IN MISSOURI

Written by Allen Walker Read, in the *Columbia, Missouri Alumnus*, April, 1932.

It is preferable to say that there is dialect in Missouri rather than that there is a Missouri dialect. The state presents a welter of speech-groups, with jumbled overlappings and complex origins. The early French occupation has left its mark (very distinctly in some "speech-pockets"), the Southern and Northern influences have jostled, immigrant races such as the German have contributed, the Negro has brought his characteristic speech-ways, and geographical factors have split the state even further: the distinctive river regions, the southeastern swamplands, the Ozarks, the plains near Kansas, the corn country near Iowa. This variety makes, for dialect study, an unlimited wealth.

Work on Missouri folk-speech has as yet been very meager. Professor Raymond Weeks first published some findings from Kansas City in *Dialect Notes* in 1892. Most of his words, such as *belly-buster* for coasting face downward on a sled, *umpy* in the sense of "heavy" or "stupid," or *king's ex*, a call used by children to stop a game, are probably known in other regions also. D. S. Crumb made a word-list from southeastern Missouri in 1903, Jay Taylor a list from McDonald county in 1923, and of late years Vance Randolph has gathered rich Ozark material in numerous studies. You may need an interpreter for many of his illustrations: "Th' ol' man went a-creenin' 'roun' all evenin', an' fin'ly he fell right spang inter th' hog-waller"; or "Billy he done stashed the jug in th' brush, an' now the damned ol' fool caint find hit!"; or "Thet 'ar joke shore wadded Maw."

Missouri speech is rich in expletives, and the very term *cuss-word* was first used, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*, by Mark Twain in 1872. One connoisseur of Ozark speech has said that the hillmen "put artistry into their oaths, extracting them with symmetry and rhythm that far outclasses common, ordinary, monotonous swearing." Another special class in folk-speech consists of the cries used in calling domestic animals together. A number reported in Missouri are *suke*, *suki*, *sui*, *steboy* in driving pigs, and *hi there* for stock. The most interesting feed-call is *pu-ig*, in which two irregular sounds appear, the umlauted "u" and the spirant "ig" as in the German *fertig*.

Missouri supplies an instance of the word *boom* earlier than any yet recorded in dictionaries or glossaries. The financial editor of the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) wrote on October 17, 1879, p. 6d: "This is the latest expressive term in commercial lingo—employed to express the excited and advancing tendency of market values of grain; not only that, but also the impulse manifest in the general trade of the country." Perhaps

the future coming of good times, parallel to the 1870's, will result in the formation of another useful word like *boom*.

Dialect in Missouri has an especial importance because of its use as literary material. It takes a consummate blending of the artist and the scientist to release for literature the stores of folk-speech, in Yeats' words, "abundant, resonant, beautiful, laughing, living speech." Many writers of dialect have been content with a hodge-podge of misspellings ("bin" for *beer*, "heer" for *here*, etc.), and few have achieved the actual idiom or, most importantly, the sentence rhythm. Early in Western development the "Pike County dialect" came to be a literary convention; but Missouri is especially blessed in having Mark Twain as a spokesman.....

ST. LOUIS HONORS FRENCH KING IN 1822

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, September 2, 1822.

The Festival of Louis the Ninth of France, the titular saint of our town, was solemnized at the Cathedral on Sunday, the 18th inst., under the auspices of the Right Rev'd. Bishop Du-Bourg. The ceremony was one of peculiar interest and novelty, particularly to a number of the American inhabitants, who were politely invited by the Bishop to join in the festival. The character of Louis is one of equal pride and satisfaction to the soldier or to the christian—for he may be truly ranked amongst the most chivalrous of the heroic age, and as one of the most pious and devout of the followers of the Cross.....

The citizens of the place generally, felt a kind of local pleasure in participating with the reverend clergy on the occasion, and doing honor to the memory of the man whose name has been conferred on the town of St. Louis. Accordingly, the volunteer company of "Guards" and the "Chasseurs" anxious of shewing their respect for the "sainted hero" and desirous of having their flags consecrated at his festival repaired to the Cathedral, and were received in front of the altar by the Bishop and a numerous train of attendant clergy. The scene was truly animating—the pews and aisles were literally crowded, although the house is capable of containing a great number of persons. Capt. Kennerly and Capt. Paul, bearing the standards of their respective companies, entered the Sanctuary, and presented them to two of the reverend gentlemen placed on the right and left of the Bishop. Those gallant colors were then unfurled, and Bishop Du-Bourg, in his impressive and solemn manner, proceeded to deliver an address, which will be found in a subsequent part of this column.

It may be thought by some, perhaps, that we bestow rather too much attention on a festival of this kind, and we are well aware that it will sound strange in the ears of many of our friends abroad that the memory and the deeds of one of the *kings of France* should be honored with such distinguished notice in any portion of the Union, and that a number of Americans participated in the festival. But when it is recollect that the manners and customs of Louisiana, in many matters, still prevail in this place, and many other places in the state, and that the most friendly and social intercourse is preserved amongst the Americans and the old inhabitants of the

country, who compose a numerous and respectable portion of the population, we are convinced that the most fastidious will view it in the same light with ourselves—as an act of courteous respect which might be reasonably indulged without violating any of our early predilections, especially when it identifies local vanity with the most interesting remembrances, and imparts a military and chivalrous ardor to the rising soldiery of the country.

..... (Here follows Bishop Du-Bourg's address.)

BOONE COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Reprinted from the Columbia *Patriot*, by the St. Louis, *Missouri Argus*, Oct. 28, 1836.

The second annual exhibition of stock and agricultural products of the above Society was held in the vicinity of Columbia on the 20th and 29th ult. Considering the very short time that this institution has had an existence, we were not only pleased, but much surprised particularly at the amount and value of the stock exhibited, and the general interest manifested in the prosperity of the Society. Probably upon the general advancement of a country to wealth and enterprise no other institution would have a more powerful and salutary influence. It belongs to the farmers; for their interest and respectability it was established, and to them it looks for encouragement and protection until it shall have become one of the permanent institutions of the country. We were gratified to meet here on the occasion several of the farmers of Cooper and Callaway counties as members of the association, and equally gratified to see them bearing away the prizes of successful competition proportionate to the amount of stock which they exhibited. We trust it will be the means of stimulating them to some exertion in sustaining the society, and that by the next annual exhibition, we shall see as many members residing in other counties, as there are now in Boone. The secretary has furnished us with a list of the names of those to whom premiums and certificates were awarded, which will be found in our advertising columns.

(Editor's Note: This fair of 1836 is not well known, as files of the *Columbia Patriot* for that year are not in existence. The *History of Boone County* contains data on the first annual fair, held in 1835, but has nothing of the later history of the fairs.)

HISTORIC LANDMARK TO BE PRESERVED

From the Jefferson City, *Missouri Magazine*, March, 1932.

Doomed to be demolished a few weeks ago, Saint Louis' old "Rock House," the city's oldest building, is, after all, to be preserved.

Constructed of native limestone rock more than 164 years ago, the old structure, which, according to tradition, also served as St. Louis' first school, jail, and fur-storage house, was recently condemned as unsafe and ordered razed. Public sentiment and the craftsmanship of the builder who lived more than a century and a half ago, however, combined to save the old structure and it has now been decreed that the building which

overlooks the levee shall continue to stand in the shadows of the city's skyscrapers as a survival of a bygone romantic age.

According to the best available records, the old "Rock House" was originally built by Ferdinand Bissonet, who is considered St. Louis' first master builder, in 1768 when St. Louis was a mere fur trading post on the fringe of a vast and unexplored new country. Jean Baptiste Trudeau, the city's first school teacher, purchased the building from Bissonet in 1804 and converted it into a schoolhouse.

Later the building was purchased by Manuel Lisa who outfitted the Lewis and Clark expedition which blazed the trail into the Northwest. At one stage of its existence the place was used for "billetting" prisoners, in accordance with the customs of the time of keeping prisoners in private homes.

During the halcyon days of the river, the structure was familiarly known from Minneapolis to New Orleans as one of the best taverns on the Mississippi, a mecca for rivermen and travelers, of bon vivants and convivials, and still later for roustabouts. Tradition has it that Mark Twain was a frequent visitor at the establishment during its heyday, as was Eugene Field, the children's poet. During recent years, the structure has been operated as a restaurant.

The endless march of time, however, had begun to take its toll. Weaknesses developed in the timbers and joists and the city, after a thorough investigation, condemned the structure as unsafe. The Terminal Railroad Association, present owners of the building decided to raze it to prevent a possible collapse. Public sentiment, however, intervened and many requests to conserve the building, because of its great historical value, were received.

An investigation was ordered and it revealed that so soundly did its original builder construct the house that it would be more costly to raze it than to reinforce its beams. Accordingly, orders were issued to rehabilitate and strengthen the old building and to continue it as a landmark of a romantic age.

AIR MAIL FROM ST. LOUIS IN 1859

An editorial in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, April 12, 1932.

Observance last September of the twentieth anniversary of "the first air-mail service in the United States" was honest enough in purpose, but it was inaccurate as to fact. What was being celebrated was the first carriage of mail by airplane. It was between two nearby postal stations on Long Island and was an event worth celebrating, calling attention as it did to the short period of preparation for the great system of air mail that now serves the nation. But it was by no means the first United States mail to be transported by air, lighter-than-air equipment having pioneered in that field more than fifty years before the burden was taken up by the more dependable airplane in 1911.

In truth, the first formal attempt to transport mail by air was not much of a success. It made the delivery, but not as accurately as could

have been desired. The start was at St. Louis, with the first bag of air mail finally reaching New York, its destination, though only after it had been dropped in Lake Ontario along with other equipment that could be jettisoned when the balloon or carriage was threatened with disaster.

That was the first air mail and not even the dispatch of mail by free balloon from beleaguered Paris, which is commonly credited with being the first air-mail experiment, can take the glory. For the Paris effort to establish communication beyond enemy lines that encircled the city was not until 1870, some eleven years after the St. Louis-to-New York mail balloon was compelled to drop its cargo into Lake Ontario in order that the pilot and his three companions might ride out a storm that had beset them. And if that mail that was forwarded by an express company did not qualify, technically, as United States mail, mail that was dispatched by balloon from the Post Office at Lafayette, Ind., six weeks later did qualify, even though the attempt to deliver to cities of the East was a failure, the trip ending at Crawfordsville, whence the mail was forwarded to New York by train.

John Wise, the most famous professional balloonist of his day, was the man who made both of these flights and thus became the world's first air-mail pilot. His flight from St. Louis was started July 1, 1859; John La Mountain, a builder of balloons, and O. A. Gager, who helped finance the venture, being in the basket with him, along with "a Mr. Hyde, a newspaper man," who accompanied them. This last figure was William Hyde, at that time a correspondent for the *Missouri Republican* and later its editor, though N. H. Randers-Pehrson, who details this first air-mail flight in an article in the *Washington Star*, does not say.

MAKING BUTTER IN 1862

From the *St. Louis, Valley Farmer*, June, 1862.

Set your milk in a room the temperature of which is about 55 degrees Fahr. Let it stand about 24 hours; then skim. Be careful and not let it stand till the cream changes. This change will be felt in the butter.

Churn at once, at a temperature of 53 degrees. Churn rather slowly. Wash the butter slowly in cold, very cold, soft water, till all the butter-milk is removed. If the least particle (of buttermilk) is left, it will turn sour and rancid, and thus affect your butter. In summer, this is perceptible in a few days. Hence the difficulty of keeping most butter in the "dog-days."

In salting, take about one ounce of salt to a pound of butter; and be sure your salt is pure, free from lime which sometimes gets mixed with it. The salt should be worked uniformly through the butter, and the butter set away in a cool place for a day and a night, then worked to a rosy finish.

When packed, it should be done in firkins that have not the least taste in the wood, and should be filled for half a week or more with pure water. Then the sides rubbed well with salt. Pack well so as to exclude all air, and cover with salt and water when filled. This will give you sweet, healthy butter, that will keep through the hottest weather.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW



October, 1931—July, 1932

Published by
**THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI**



Volume XXVI

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, *Secretary-Editor*
Columbia, Missouri

1932



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